Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'



Translated and with an Introduction by Simon Franklin

Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature

English Translations: Volume V

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The authors included in this volume, Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, and Kirill of Turov, are remarkable for both their personal and literary achievements. Appointed in 1051 by Prince Jaroslav the Wise, Ilarion was the first of only two recorded "native" metropolitans of Kiev. His *Sermon on Law and Grace* constitutes the finest piece of eleventh-century Rus' rhetorical literature. Klim Smoljatič, the second "native" metropolitan of Rus' (from 1147), is the author of the controversial *Epistle to Foma*, which addresses the debate over the proper nature and limits of Christian learning. Finally, the twelfth-century monk Kirill of Turov is best known for his collection of allegorical lessons and some of the most accomplished sermons of Kievan Rus'.

The volume contains the first complete translations of the *Epistle to Foma* and the lessons and sermons of Kirill, as well as an entirely new rendering of the *Sermon on Law and Grace*. Simon Franklin prefaces the texts with a substantial introduction that places each of the three authors in their historical context and examines the literary qualities as well as textual complexities of these outstanding works of Rus' literature.

Dr. Simon Franklin is Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Slavonic Studies at the University of Cambridge.

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ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS VOLUME V

ГАРВАРДСЬКА БІБЛІОТЕКА ДАВНЬОГО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ПИСЬМЕНСТВА

КОРПУС АНГЛІЙСЬКИХ ПЕРЕКЛАДІВ ТОМ V

Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The *Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature* is one portion of the Harvard Project in Commemoration of the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine, which is being carried out by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University with financial support of the Ukrainian community.

The *Library* encompasses literary activity in Rus'-Ukraine from its beginning in the mid-eleventh century through the end of the eighteenth century, and primarily contains original works, although exceptions are made for such seminally important translations as the Ostroh Bible of 1581. Included are ecclesiastical and secular works written in a variety of languages, such as Church Slavonic, Old Rus', Ruthenian (Middle Ukrainian), Polish, and Latin. This linguistic diversity reflects the cultural pluralism of Ukrainian intellectual activity in the medieval and early-modern periods.

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The introductions and translations reflect the linguistic and terminological diversity of the original works. Thus, for example, appellations such as the Rus', Rusija, Rossija, Mala Rossija, Malaja Rossija, Malorussija, Ruthenia, Malorussijskaja Ukrajina, Ukrajina, and so on, are presented according to their actual use in the given text. All of

these terms have historically been used to designate "Ukraine" or its parts. In addition, the word Ruthenian is employed to translate early-modern nomenclature for "Ukrainian" and early-modern terminology describing common Ukrainian and Belorussian culture, language, and identity. For much of the period covered by the *Library* Ukrainian and Belorussian cultural figures were active in a shared social, intellectual, and religious milieu. Since the *Library* selects authors and works important to the Ukrainian part of this sphere, their names are rendered in Ukrainian form, even though at times they may also have been of significance in Belorussian territory.

Use of the definite article with "Ukraine" is left to the discretion of the author or translator of each volume.

With the exception of toponyms with established English forms, place-names are usually given in accordance with the official language of the state or, in the case of the Soviet Union, of the republic that holds the territory; pre-modern or alternative modern forms are indicated in the indices.

The *Library* uses the International System of transliteration for Church Slavonic, Old Rus′, and modern languages using the Cyrillic alphabet; this system has been adapted to transliterate Ruthenian (Middle Ukrainian) texts as well.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASP: Archiv für slavische Philologie.

BS: Byzantinoslavica.

Čtenija: Čtenija v obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix.

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers.

Eremin, "Nasledie" 11/12/13/15: I. P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 11 (1955): 342–67; 12 (1956): 340–61; 13 (1957): 409–26; 15 (1958): 331–48.

GIM: Gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej (Moscow).

GPB: Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka (Leningrad).

IAN: Imperatorskaja akademija nauk.

HUS: Harvard Ukrainian Studies.

Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie: Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie Ilariona Kievskogo, ed. A. A. Baženova, 2 pts. (Moscow, 1986).

IORJaS: Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti IAN.

Izb.: The Izbornik of the XIIIth Century (Cod. Leningrad, GPB, Q.p. I, 18), ed. H. Wątróbska (Nijmegen, 1987) (=*Polata Knigopisnaja*, 19–20).

Kaz.: variants to *Nik.* from MS Kazan' Dux. akad. 807.

L: text of Klim's *Epistle* in X. M. Loparev, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta k smolenskomu presviteru Fome* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

Lampe: G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961).

MPG: J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, bibliotheca omnium SS. patrum, doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum sive Latinorum, sive Graecorum,* Series Graeca (Paris, 1857–1866).

Moldovan, *Slovo:* A. M. Moldovan, "*Slovo o zakone i blogodati*" *Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984).

Müller, *Lobrede:* L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden, 1962).

Müller, "Neue Untersuchungen": L. Müller, "Neue Untersuchungen zum Text der Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion," *Russia mediaevalis* 2 (1975): 3–91.

Nik.: Text and apparatus to Klim's *Epistle* in N. K. Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII v.* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

NPL: Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950).

PK: Polata knigopisnaja.

PLDR. XII v.: Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XII vek (Moscow, 1980).

PSRL 1: *Lavrent'evskaja letopis',* 2nd ed., ed. E. F. Karskij, Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1 (1926–27; repr., Moscow, 1962).

PSRL 2: *Ipat'evskaja letopis',* 2nd ed., ed. A. A. Šaxmatov, Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 2 (1908; repr., Moscow, 1962).

PSRL 9: *Patriaršaja ili Nikonovskaja letopis',* ed. A. F. Byčkov, Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 9 (1862; repr., Moscow, 1965).

PVL: Pověst' vremennyx lět.

RES: Revue des études slaves.

RIB: Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka.

S: text of Ilarion in MS Moscow, GIM, Sinodal'noe sobr. 591.

Sreznevskij, *Materialy* 1–3: I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka,* 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1893–1912).

SEEJ: Slavic and East European Journal.

SbORJaS: Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti IAN.

TODRL: Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury.

Uspenskij sbornik: Uspenskij sbornik XII–XIII vv., ed. O. A. Knjazevskaja et al. (Moscow, 1971).

Vop.: variants in *Nik.* from the *Voprosy i otvety* ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzus.

VV: Vizantijskij vremennik.

WSlJ: Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch.

ZIK: Zbornik istorije književnosti.

ZRVI: Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta.

INTRODUCTION

The writers presented in this book are among the very few named authors in the surviving literature of Kievan Rus′. Kievan literature is largely anonymous. The rarity of names is not accident or misfortune. In the Kievan scale of aesthetic values the message was more important than its bearer, the truth of received tradition was revered above the musings of innovative individuals. This is not to say that the Kievans were indifferent to names; merely that they did not make a fetish out of individuality. They honored the names of certain writers—above all the fathers of the Church—as emblems of authoritative tradition: to be emulated rather than to be superseded, to be accepted en bloc rather than to be analyzed as distinct intellectual and historical figures. Modernity particularizes. We want to know not only what, but also who, where, when, and why. The desire is anachronistic but legitimate, so long as the anachronism is duly recognized. Hence the attraction of names, and of Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, and Kirill of Turov.

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill are not random survivors. They were among the elite of their day, and their personal and literary achievements are solid enough. Ilarion and Klim were metropolitans of Kiev, primates of the Church of Rus′. In this they were exceptional. Most metropolitans of Kiev were Greeks, sent from Constantinople. In the entire Kievan period only two metropolitans are definitely known to have been natives of Rus′: Ilarion and Klim. Besides being writers, they are major and in many respects controversial figures in Kievan ecclesiastical and political history. For this reason I have not restricted the introductory chapters to a survey of their literary legacy. Ilarion and Klim need to be presented in a broader context.

A context for Kirill of Turov is more difficult to establish. His memory survives almost exclusively in the words attributed to him. If we judge according to historical significance, then Ilarion and Klim form a natural pair. However, if literary significance becomes the criterion, then Ilarion is joined by Kirill, and Klim recedes into the background. Ilarion is the acknowledged master of Kievan rhetoric: both the first and the best. Modern assessments of Kirill have been more equivocal, but his medieval reputation was secure. Works by or

attributed to Kirill and Ilarion were copied and recopied and imitated for centuries, in Kievan Rus′, in Muscovy, throughout the lands of the Orthodox Slavs. They survive in dozens of manuscripts, and their influence can be traced in Serbia and Bulgaria.[1]

Klim, by contrast, never entered the canon. Only two manuscripts of his *Epistle* have been published, both of them late and both of them very corrupt. Yet although he was not a great or influential writer, his *Epistle to Foma* is far more than an incidental appendage to his political and ecclesiastical activities. Klim was renowned in his time as a man of learning. His *Epistle* is part of an acrimonious public debate about the proper nature and limits of Christian learning. It is the only document from Kievan Rus′ in which such issues are discussed in any detail.

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill were rhetoricians. In the mundane sense this implies that they had acquired certain verbal skills, certain techniques of style and construction, the affective and effective devices of the art of persuasion. But their rhetoric is not just a display of the aesthetics of artifice: it is also a method of argument, the instrument which gives coherent form to an interpretation of the world. Through the rhythms and antitheses of the prose the authors reveal and express (in different ways) the coherence of Creation. Their arguments are rarely linear. They try to get under the surface of visible phenomena and historical facts, to demonstrate the constant presence of the eternal in the temporal, to show the allegorical and symbolic relationships through which the otherwise disjointed and senseless particulars are harmoniously interlinked. There are always at least two levels of meaning in a statement. The parallel levels of meaning are given shape in the parallel structures of the syntax.

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill did not have to devise for themselves either the verbal techniques or the methods of interpretation. Both were derived from the Greek Christian literature of Byzantium, usually via the intermediary of Slavonic translations produced in Bulgaria. Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill were self-consciously following

[1] See A. Nikol′skaja, "'Slovo' mitr. Kievskogo Ilariona v pozdnejšej literaturnoj tradicii," *Slavia* 7 (1928–29): 549–63, 853–70; M. P. Petrovskij, "Ilarion, mitropolit Kievskij i Domentian, ieromonax Xilandarskij," *IORJaS* 13, no. 4 (1908): 81–133; S. Nikolova, "Kiril Turovski i južnoslavjanskata knižnina," *Palaeobulgarica* 12 (1988) no. 2:25–44; no. 3:38–51.

tradition.

Tradition and individuality are awkward topics. One common form of modern misunderstanding arises when Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill are read as if their words and ideas were all their own. Another common form of misunderstanding arises when the works of Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill are read as if they were simply repositories for the words and ideas of others. In fact the uses of tradition are surprisingly varied. It is not enough just to label a phrase or an argument or a work according to one of two categories: borrowed or original. Traditionalism and individuality are not mutually exclusive. The terms are too limited. They conceal the range and the nuances, and can distort the image of Kievan culture.

The image of Kievan culture is easily distorted because even the best versions of it are tenuously and tentatively constructed. The problem is simple: a lack of facts. Historians of more recent culture have the problem of *reducing* the mass of their material into manageable patterns. Historians of Kievan culture spend much of their time trying to find plausible ways to fill the gaps *between* the sparse fragments of real evidence, contemplating the unknown and the unknowable. Any connected account of Kievan culture is an agglomeration of hypotheses. Worse than that: virtually any reading of any word in a Kievan text is hypothetical. The manuscripts are late, the variants are prolific. Either we retreat behind raw data, or else we accept that choices have to be made but that certainty is unattainable, that there is an implicit "perhaps" in every statement.

This is the misfortune and the stimulation of the subject. Kievan culture is not a solid object but a field of inquiry. In that field, the works of Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, and Kirill of Turov are conspicuous and important landmarks. They help us to shape the questions, which are often more significant than the answers.

I. ILARION

Metropolitan Ilarion is the outstanding figure among the known and named writers of pre-Mongol Rus′: stylistically the most accomplished, intellectually the most sophisticated, historically and culturally the most prestigious. And he was the first. The finest literary craftsmanship of the new Christian civilization was produced in the first flush of optimistic exhilaration. For posterity Ilarion's writing epitomizes the "Golden Age" of Kievan culture in the mid-eleventh century, the reign of Jaroslav the Wise, when all the land of Rus′ was—in the view of the contemporary elite and their medieval successors—united in peace and stability. The mid-eleventh century became the "model" of Kievan Rus′, its definitive image, recalled wistfully by future chroniclers. The image was shaped visibly and tangibly through Jaroslav's programs of monumental public buildings; it was shaped politically through Jaroslav's own rule and through his disposition of lands to his sons; and it was shaped in words by the anonymous contributors to the *Primary Chronicle* and, in an especially concentrated and articulate way, by the metropolitan Ilarion.

1. ILARION'S LIFE

Who was Ilarion, and what did he write? To what extent is the image justified by the facts? Biographical statements about Ilarion fall into two categories: information derived from contemporary or near-contemporary sources (which may or may not be reliable); and additional conjectures. Let us start with the sources.

In its entry for the year 6559 *anno mundi* (1051 A.D.) the *Primary Chronicle* states that "Jaroslav assembled the bishops in St. Sophia and appointed [I]larion, a *rusin*, as metropolitan."[2]

The same entry continues with a brief biographical excursus, a passage which reappears in almost identical form in the *Paterik* of the Caves Monastery:

2 *PSRL* 1:155.

The God-loving prince Jaroslav was fond of Berestovo and its Church of the Holy Apostles and had many priests under his care. Among them was a priest named Ilarion, a devout man, learned in the Scriptures and an ascetic. He used to go from Berestovo to the hill above the Dnieper where the old Caves Monastery now is. There he would pray, for there was a thick wood there. Here he dug a small cave to a depth of two fathoms (*sažen*). And he used to go there from Berestovo and chant the hours and pray to God in seclusion. After some time it pleased God to inspire the great and pious prince Jaroslav, and he appointed him metropolitan in St. Sophia.[3]

A fifteenth-century manuscript preserves the following colophon, at the end of a set of works usually attributed to Ilarion:

I, Ilarion, through the mercy of God who loveth man, a monk and priest, was through His good pleasure consecrated by the God-loving bishops and enthroned in the great and divinely protected city of Kiev, there to serve as metropolitan, pastor, and teacher. These things came to pass in the year 6559, during the reign of the pious kagan Jaroslav, the son to Volodimer, Amen.[4]

That is all. New readers now have at their disposal as much positive biographical information about Ilarion as is available to any historian.[5] The obvious point is that it does not amount to very much. The next stage is inference.

Berestovo, or Berestovoe,[6] where Ilarion was a priest, was a large and well-established princely residence by the Dnieper on the southern outskirts of Kiev. Volodimer I is reported to have kept two

3 Ibid., 155–56; cf. D. Abramovyč, ed., *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk* (Kiev 1913; repr., Munich, 1964), 16–17; M. Heppell, trans., *The* Paterik *of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature: English Translations, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 19–20.

4 Moscow, GIM, Syn. sobr. no. 591 (hereafter *S*), fol. 203a. See T. A. Sumnikova, ed., "Proizvedenija Ilariona po spisku ser. XV v. GIM SIN. № 591," in *Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie*, 1:41 (text), 64 (Russian trans.), 171 (photocopy of MS).

5 The more expansive account in the Nikonian Chronicle is clearly a later attempt at interpretation: *PSRL* 9:83; cf. *The Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. S. A. Zenkovsky, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1984), 148; for reference to Ilarion in texts of Jaroslav's Church Statute see below, p. xxii n. 26.

6 *PSRL* 1:80; cf. V. N. Neroznak, *Nazvanija drevnerusskix gorodov* (Moscow, 1983), 20–21.

hundred concubines there, before his conversion to Christianity.[7] He also died there.[8] Jaroslav, as we saw, was especially fond of it. In 1073, when Jaroslav's younger sons Svjatoslav and Vsevolod drove their older brother Izjaslav from Kiev, they "sat on the throne at Berestovo."[9] In 1096 the marauding Polovtsians under their leader Bonjak ("the Mangy") suddenly appeared outside Kiev and "burned the prince's palace at Berestovo."[10] To be a priest at Berestovo was to be a priest for the prince and his household and his court.

In Berestovo Ilarion served at the Church of the Holy Apostles. The church had a prestigious name, an echo of one of the great churches of Constantinople. The Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was founded by Constantine the Great in the fourth century. It was a stopping point for imperial processions, and until the mid-eleventh century it was the traditional burial place of emperors.[11] Jaroslav's patronage of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Berestovo was surely part of his program of architectural and cultural mimesis of the Byzantine capital, a program to turn Kiev into a kind of image, an icon, of Constantinople.

Ilarion was one of "many priests" under Jaroslav's patronage at Berestovo. In its entry for the year 1037 the *Primary Chronicle* praises Jaroslav for his generous patronage of churches and monasteries, for his love of books and patronage of scribes, for the proliferation of priests.[12] Ilarion was an accomplished bookman and a priest of Jaroslav's generously endowed church. Well before he became metropolitan he was clearly a beneficiary of, and participant in, Jaroslav's cultural program.

Ilarion was also a monk. He states this in his own colophon. More than 150 years later, in the 1220s, Bishop Simon of Volodymyr, joint compiler of the *Paterik*, writes to the monk Polikarp of the Caves Monastery: "You yourself have read in the Life of the holy Antonij about Metropolitan Ilarion, who was tonsured by him and later

7 *PSRL* 1:80. Vyšhorod and Bilhorod merited three hundred concubines apiece.

8 Ibid., 130.

9 Ibid., 182.

10 Ibid., 231.

11 See G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 299–306.

12 *PSRL* 1:151–53; see H. Lunt, "On Interpreting the Russian Primary Chronicle: The Year 1037," *SEEJ* 32 (1988): 251–64.

considered worthy of the priesthood."[13] This detail is potentially at odds with the assertion in the *Primary Chronicle*—also found in the *Paterik*—that Ilarion was already a priest when he dug his cave, and that Antonij, founder of the Caves Monastery, returned from Athos to Kiev and settled in the cave which had already been used by Ilarion. Some kind of link between Ilarion and Antonij is certainly feasible. The Caves Monastery was indeed located on a hillside just beyond Berestovo, and Antonij and Ilarion were approximate contemporaries. But the sources which specify the links derive from the Caves Monastery itself and may be contaminated with a dose of wishful thinking: either to make Ilarion a kind of symbolic cofounder of the Caves by having Antonij settle in the same place as him; or to "claim" Ilarion for the Caves by having him tonsured *by* Antonij. Notionally, and with difficulty, the two accounts can be reconciled,[14] but there is no compelling reason to regard either of them as literally true. Ilarion and Antonij were regarded as joint participants in the great spiritual endeavor which achieved its finest results in the mid-eleventh century. To recognize this perception is perhaps more important than to determine the elusive details of their actual relationship.

Ilarion's masterpiece, his sermon *On Law and Grace*, was written and/or delivered before he became metropolitan, while he was still a priest in Jaroslav's church at Berestovo. The *terminus ante quem*, at least for the eulogy, is the date of the death of Jaroslav's wife Irina. In his eulogy to Volodimer, Ilarion invites the prince to rise from the grave and survey his legacy: "Behold," says the metropolitan, "your devout daughter-in-law Irina!" (§61). Irina, therefore, was alive at the time. The Hypatian Chronicle states that Irina died on 10 February

13 Abramovyč, *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk*, 102–3; Heppell, *Paterik*, 118.

14 See esp. "Discouse 7" of the *Paterik*: Abramovyč, *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk*, 16–20; Heppell, *Paterik*, 18–23, 218–22. The relevant reported episodes in Antonij's life are: (i) he spends time on Mt. Athos; (ii) he settles in the "Varangian" cave, before 1015; (iii) he flees to Athos ca. 1015 to avoid Volodimer's son Svjatopolk; (iv) at an unspecified time after the defeat of Svjatopolk by Jaroslav (1019) he returns to Rus'; (v) he tonsures Ilarion before Ilarion becomes a priest; (vi) while a priest, Ilarion uses the cave near Berestovo; (vii) Antonij returns from Athos (a third time?) and settles in Ilarion's former cave (after 1051?). The Athonite monastery of Xylourgou is first linked to the *Rhōs* in a document of 1016: see D. Năstase, "Les Débuts de la communauté œcuménique du mont Athos," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985), esp. 284–90.

6658.[15] The years in the chronicles usually begin in March, and the difference between dates *anno mundi* and *anno domini* is 5508 years, so that 6658 corresponds to the year from the beginning of March 1050 to the end of February 1051. By this reckoning Irina died on 10 February 1051. If the chronicler was here using the Byzantine year which starts not in March but in the preceding September, then 6658 runs from September 1049 to August 1050, and Irina died a year earlier, on 10 February 1050. Ilarion's appointment as metropolitan, according to all sources, occurred in 6659, the year after Irina's death. The sequence is clear, even if the exact dates cannot be established: the eulogy was written before Irina died, and Irina died before Ilarion became metropolitan.

The *terminus post quem* is more problematic. Two fragments of internal evidence provide clues. In the first place, Ilarion refers to the Cathedral of St. Sophia and to the Church of the Annunciation on the Golden Gates (§59). The foundation of these churches is mentioned in the chronicle's entry for 1037.[16] Some scholars leave it at that and date Ilarion's sermon to between 1037 and 1051.[17] Others try to narrow the limits by reference to political events: to the period before the Byzantino-Kievan conflict from 1043 to 1046.[18] However, the political interpretation is, as we shall see, dubious, and the chronology does not have to be so vaguely speculative. Ilarion refers to St. Sophia and the Church of the Annunciation not as building sites but as completed edifices. According to the most persuasive studies, St. Sophia was constructed ca. 1037–1044/45 and decorated by about 1047/48.[19] The earliest date for the sermon is therefore not 1037 but 1047 or 1048.

The second internal clue is Ilarion's reference to Volodimer's "grandchildren and great-grandchildren" (§61). Theoretically these

15 *PSRL* 2:143; *PSRL* 1:155 (the Laurentian Chronicle lacks the day).

16 *PSRL* 2:143; also the Monastery of St. George, and of St. Irene, after the baptismal names of Jaroslav and his wife.

17 J. Fennell and A. Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London, 1974), 58.

18 M. D. Priselkov, *Očerki po cerkovno-političeskoj istorii Kievskoj Rusi XI–XII vv.*, Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskogo fakul'teta Imp. S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 116 (St. Petersburg, 1913), 98; accepted by D. S. Lixačev, *The Great Heritage* (Moscow, 1981), 37.

19 A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," in his *The Rise of Christian Russia* (London, 1982), no. IV:15–66; also Ju. S. Aseev, *Arxitektura drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1982), 37–55.

could be the known or unknown progeny of any of Volodimer's numerous offspring. In practice, given the Kievan focus of the work, they are surely the children and grandchildren of Jaroslav. Again the calculations are complicated and speculative, but again the inference is that the sermon cannot have been written before the late 1040s.[20]

When, therefore, was the sermon written? The most cautious estimates date it to ca. 1047–1050. Bolder guesswork arrives at 1048–1049. And the truly brave or rash find not just the year but the very day itself, variously claimed as the anniversary of Volodimer's death (15 July)[21] or the feast of the Annunciation in a year when it most nearly coincided with Easter (25 March 1049).[22] The arguments for either can be plausible. The lives of medieval historians would be much easier if plausibility were the same as truth.

Where was the sermon delivered? We find a similar range of reasonable but incompatible suggestions: St. Sophia, because of the grandiose theme;[23] the Church of the Annunciation, because of the repeated rhetorical echoes of the gospel story of the Annunciation (§§60ff.);[24] the "Tithe" church, because Ilarion seems to be addressing directly the tomb of Volodimer.[25] An equally reasonable addition to the list of candidates would be the one church with which the *sources* connect Ilarion before his metropolitanate: the Church of the Holy Apostles at Berestovo.

20 A. Soloviev, "Zur Lobrede des Metropoliten Hilarion," in *Das heidnische und christliche Slaventum: Acta II Congressus Internationalis Historiae Slavicae Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis, 1967* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 58–63.

21 Müller, *Lobrede*, 21–22 (the date, not the year); cf. the specification of 15 July in the rubric in some MSS of the "second-redaction" of the *Sermon*: Moldovan, *Slovo*, 127.

22 N. N. Rozov, "Sinodal′nyj spisok sočinenij Illariona—russkogo pisatelja XI veka," *Slavia* 32 (1963): 147–48. For other suggestions, see: O. V. Tvorogov, in *Istorija russkoj literatury XI–XVII vekov*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Moscow, 1985), 80, who proposes 1049, on the completion of Kiev's fortifications; and J.-P. Arrignon, "Remarques sur le titre de Kagan attribué aux princes russes d'après les sources occidentales et russes des IXe–XIe s.," *ZRVI* 23 (1984): 67–71, who proposes a time early in 1051, shortly before Ilarion's elevation to the metropolitanate.

23 Lixačev, *The Great Heritage*, 37–39; cf. also A. Belickaja's commentary in *Bogoslovskie trudy* 28 (1987): 337–38.

24 Rozov, *Sinodal′nyj spisok*, 147–48.

25 Müller, *Lobrede*, 31–32.

The remainder of Ilarion's documented biography can be swiftly retold. He was appointed metropolitan in 6659: that is, either in the year from March 1051 to February 1052, or in the year from September 1050 to August 1051. During his incumbency he may have collaborated with Jaroslav in producing a church statute;[26] on an unspecified 26 November, he consecrated the Church of St. George in Kiev.[27] His colophon to the *Confession of Faith* was also written after his appointment. According to one version of the chronicle of Novgorod, a new metropolitan, Ephrem, was in office in 1055.[28] Ilarion's patron Jaroslav had died in 1054.

Ilarion's *un*documented biographies, devised and deduced by historians, are of course more elaborate. It has been suggested, for example, that Ilarion received monastic training on Mt. Athos; that he traveled West in the entourage of Jaroslav's daughter Anna when she went to marry the king of France; that he was deposed as metropolitan and then entered the Caves Monastery under the name of Nikon, eventually becoming abbot and writing or editing several of the entries in the *Primary Chronicle*; that he retired to the Caves under his *own* name; that he had a hand in the compilation of the 1076 *Izbornik*; that he was involved in planning some of the decoration of St. Sophia.[29] All, or some, or none of this might be true.

After the facts come the interpretations. *Why* was Ilarion appointed metropolitan? The chronicles do not explain, and neither does Ilarion. The most frequently repeated modern opinion is that his

26 See Ja. N. Ščapov, *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1976), 110. This is the "short" redaction. The "long" redaction gives Ilarion the anachronistic title "Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus'." See also *Zakonodatel'stvo Drevnej Rusi*, ed. V. L. Janin (Moscow, 1984), 163–73.

27 See Müller, *Lobrede*, 9–10.

28 *NPL*, 183. Note that in its account of the burial of Jaroslav in St. Sophia the *Primary Chronicle* mentions the presence of priests but not of the metropolitan (*PSRL* 1:162; 2:150–51). Some have concluded that Ilarion had ceased to be metropolitan *before* Jaroslav's death. See also below, p. xxiii n. 31.

29 See L. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich, 1971), 84–86; Priselkov, *Očerki*, 181–84; N. N. Rozov, "K voprosu ob učastii Ilariona v načal'nom letopisanii," in *Letopisi i xroniki 1973*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1974), 31–36; V. N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966), 20; N. P. Popov, "Les Auteurs de l' Izbornik de Svjatoslav de 1076," *RES* 15 (1935): 210–23. Cf. M. F. Kotljar, "Ilarion, Nikon, Nestor," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal*, 1989, no. 3:122–32.

appointment was polemical and controversial, that Jaroslav deliberately defied precedent and Constantinople, in defence of Kievan ecclesiastical autonomy.[30] The main arguments in support of this view are as follows:

(a) Ilarion's nationality: Ilarion was a native of Rus′. The incumbent of the metropolitan see of *Rhōsia* was always a Greek sent from Constantinople. Ilarion's nationality must in itself have been provocative to Constantinople. The only known analogous case—that of Klim Smoljatič a century later—is much more fully documented and was unquestionably controversial.

(b) The method of appointment: Ilarion was appointed by Jaroslav with the local bishops. There is no mention of the patriarch of Constantinople. This implies that the patriarch was deliberately snubbed. Again the informative analogy is with Klim Smoljatič, whose appointment was claimed by his opponents to be invalid precisely because he did not have the blessing of the patriarch.

(c) The "historical context" of Ilarion's appointment:

i. Kiev and Constantinople fought an intermittent war from 1043 to 1046. Ilarion's appointment represents *either* an act of continuing defiance by Jaroslav *or* a hard-won concession from Constantinople as part of a peace deal.

ii. Ilarion *remained* unacceptable to Constantinople throughout his incumbency. He owed his position entirely to Jaroslav's powerful patronage. As soon as Jaroslav died and the lands of the Rus′ were divided and thus weakened—or as soon as Jaroslav came to a different political accomodation with Constantinople[31] —Ilarion was removed and a Greek was appointed.

[30] E.g., Priselkov, *Očerki*, 92–93, 109–11; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 2nd. ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1973), 82; K. Rose, "Byzanz und die Autonomiebestrebung der russischen Kirche in der Zeit vom 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert," in *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin, 1964), 308–12; *Istorija Kieva*, vol. 1, ed. I. I. Artemenko et al. (Kiev, 1982), 129; S. A. Vysockij [Vysoc′kyj], *Svetskie freski Sofijskogo sobora v Kieve* (Kiev, 1989), 54–57. There are degrees of assertion. Some of the above cite the Nikonian Chronicle, which states that the appointment took place during a period of tension, but that it did not signify a desire to break with the Greek Church: *PSRL* 9:83.

[31] Priselkov, *Očerki*, 110–11, suggests that Ilarion was removed by 1053 as an obstacle to harmony between Kiev and Constantinople.

iii. Jaroslav's entire cultural program was designed to drag Kiev out from under the shadow of Constantinople. Ilarion is a willing and active participant in this program.

(d) Ilarion's sermon is anti-Byzantine. He places the conversion of the Rus′ in the context of Biblical prophecy and prefiguration and thus bypasses—and implicitly disputes—Byzantine claims to preeminence.

This is the case, or the amalgam of cases, for the assertion that Ilarion was appointed in deliberate defiance of Byzantium, or at any rate for the assumption that Ilarion's appointment reflects an adversarial relationship. The opposing case can be summarized in the same order of points.[32]

On nationality: native metropolitans were extremely rare, and it might be overly idealistic to imagine that nationality was a matter of total indifference. Nevertheless, Byzantium was, by and large, culturally exclusive but ethnically inclusive: to be accepted one needed to share in Byzantine culture, not to have a Greek mother and father.[33] The sources mention Ilarion's nationality as a fact, not as a problem.

On the method of appointment: canonically the procedure was valid, and no source either states or implies that Byzantium disapproved. In the 1040s and 1050s Byzantine churchmen were not reticent in their polemics—these were the years leading up to the schism of 1054 between Constantinople and Rome—but nobody ever mentions any trouble in *Rhōsia*. There is no clear evidence that Ilarion was actually deposed after Jaroslav's death, or that he was deposed at all.[34] For all we know, he could have died in his sleep two weeks or

32 See esp. E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 2nd. ed., vol. 1, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1901), 297–300; P. P. Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej iz Vizantii i pravo ego naznačenija do načala XV veka* (Kiev, 1913), 41–50; Müller, *Lobrede*, 2–9; id., "Ilarion und die Nestorchronik," in *Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus′-Ukraine*, ed. O. Pritsak and I. Ševčenko, with M. Labunka (Cambridge, Mass., 1990) (= *HUS* 12/13 [1988/1989]), 324–45; D. Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations," *DOP* 11 (1957): 61–63.

33 On Byzantine attitudes towards foreigners in this period, see A. Kazhdan and A. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1985), 167–80.

34 On the question of a supposed "reconsecration" of St. Sophia by Metropolitan Ephrem, so as to purify it after Ilarion, see A. Poppe, "La Tentative de réforme ecclésiastique en Russie au milieu du XIe siècle," in *The Rise of Christian Russia*, no.

two months or two years after taking office.

On the historical context: the Byzantino-Kievan war ended in 1046, five years before Ilarion became metropolitan. In the intervening period Byzantine craftsmen were decorating Jaroslav's Cathedral of St. Sophia, and indeed Jaroslav was deliberately constructing his capital city as a kind of physical icon of Constantinople—surely an act of homage rather than of defiance. Jaroslav's son Vsevolod was married to a Byzantine princess. And Ilarion's sermon *does* acknowledge Byzantium: he specifically says that part of Volodimer's inspiration came from tales of the glories of the land of the Greeks (§45).

Such is the case, or the amalgam of cases, for harmony between Kiev and Constantinople in the appointment of Ilarion.

Between the pro-Byzantine and anti-Byzantine paths there are middle ways. One could argue that the debate, when expressed in these terms, is false, crude, oversimplified. The relationship between Kiev and Constantinople is far more complex and should not be reduced to a plain choice of "pro-" and "anti-." Certainly Jaroslav and his associates worked to create for the new Christian Rus′ a cultural and historical identity, a sense of self, of historical being under Providence. But this identity was not created in a vacuum, *ex nihilo*, in and of itself. All the prestigious cultural models were Byzantine. All the historical explanations were Byzantine. To be civilized meant to build, or write, or paint, or organize a monastery in the Byzantine way. To show Kiev's historical and providential destiny meant to fit Kiev into schemes of sacred history borrowed from Byzantium. *Within* this broad perception there was of course scope for conflict; of course admiration could be tinged with resentment; of course there could be tension between imitation and self-assertion.[35] But neither independence nor autonomy, as the words are understood in our own time, was at issue. Byzantium's cultural status was taken for granted, but there was never any serious practical question—on either side—of political subordination.[36] Constantinople was distant, never a direct military or political threat to Kiev. Indeed, the Rus′ tended to accept

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V:29–30. Here Poppe cautiously rejects the hypothesis that he had previously accepted.

35 See esp. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971), 353–76.

36 See S. Franklin, "The Empire of the *Rhomaioi* as Viewed from Kievan Russia: Aspects of Byzantino-Russian Cultural Relations," *Byzantion* 53 (1983): 507–37.

the cultural and ecclesiastical *status quo* precisely because there were no political overtones. Of course feathers could be ruffled and sensibilities disturbed. But not every proclamation of local dignity needs to be read as a fundamental challenge to the relationship. We must take care not to be overly mechanistic and reductionist in assessing the causes and implications of Ilarion's appointment.

Such is a middle way, a case for possible *ambivalence* in the appointment of Ilarion.[37]

There is a fourth possibility, the kind of possibility which historians prefer to avoid if they can: the possibility that our own ignorance is irredeemable. Perhaps there is simply not enough material to justify *any* hypothesis. The known facts can be told in barely more than a dozen words: in 6559 *anno mundi* Ilarion was made metropolitan at a synod of bishops called by Jaroslav. Everything else is conjectural, circumstantial. *All* historical interpretation is to a greater or lesser extent conjectural, but here the basis for conjecture is so weak as to be useless: half a dozen half-hints in half-reliable sources. From the 1060s and 1070s the articulate contemporary factual sources for Kievan history, though still exiguous by Byzantine or West European standards, increase sharply in quantity and in variety. But for the reign of Jaroslav they barely exist. We do not know and cannot know what arguments accompanied Ilarion's appointment, or whether there were arguments at all, whether he was opposed or ignored or congratulated by Constantinople (there is no mention of Ilarion in any Byzantine source), whether it was an act of provocation or of reconciliation or neither, why or when or whether he was deposed or retired or died. Perhaps Ilarion was just the best man for the job! We would love to read between the lines; but when only one line survives, then there is nothing to read between.

Such is the case for refusing to have any opinion whatsoever on the issue of why Ilarion was made metropolitan.

This final option is safe, and salutary from time to time. But dogmatic scepticism is also too simple and may actually hamper understanding. One should never underestimate the cognitive value of

[37] Cf. also the view of Poppe, "La Tentative de réforme," who argues that the local appointment of Ilarion should be seen in the context not of a national revolt against the patriarchate, but of a general movement towards decentralizing reform, led by the monasteries, throughout the Eastern Church.

an unsustainable hypothesis, so long as one remembers that it is unsustainable.

In a sense, however, all these questions are misdirected. It would be pleasant and doubtless instructive to know more about Ilarion's life and career, more about how and why he rose to become head of the Kievan Church. Yet Ilarion is significant and important and interesting not because he was an ecclesiastical functionary, but because he was a writer. As an ecclesiastical functionary he is barely discernible. As a writer he is the most brilliant figure of the age. The *real* questions concerning Ilarion are those raised by and about his work.

2. ILARION'S WORK(S)

The Sermon on Law and Grace

We speak of Ilarion's sermon *On Law and Grace*. In fact this tends to be a label for a small cluster of texts which often appear separately in manuscripts. There is some disagreement as to whether or how the texts should be divided as distinct "works," and as to how many of them can reliably be attributed to Ilarion. Consider the heading: "Concerning the Law Given by Moses and the Grace and Truth Which Came by Jesus Christ, and How the Law Departed and Grace and Truth Filled All the Earth and Faith Spread Forth to All Nations Even unto Our Nation of Rus′, and an Encomium to Our Kagan Volodimer by Whom We Became Baptized, and a Prayer to God from All Our Land." This reads rather like one of those long descriptive chapter headings from a nineteenth-century novel. The heading allows the text to be split into four constituent or separate parts:

(a) On Law and Grace (§§ 1–16);
(b) How Grace spread and reached Rus′ (§§ 17–41);
(c) The encomium to Volodimer (§§ 42–66);
(d) The prayer (§§ 67–72).

In practice (a) and (b) are generally discussed as one, while there is debate as to whether (c) and/or (d) are to be treated as separate.

They can be treated separately[38] because there are clear

[38] See, e.g., Müller, *Die Werke*, 10–14, who posits four separate works; Rozov, "Sinodal′nyj spisok," and id., "Iz tvorčeskogo nasledija russkogo pisatelja XI veka

compositional breaks before and between them; because they normally appear separately in manuscripts (only one MS, *S*, of the late fifteenth century, presents them all together); because collectively they are thought to be too long for a single oral delivery; and because they are *generically* disparate, with each part representing in effect a different subgenre (sermon, eulogy/*vita*, prayer).

They can be treated together as a single composition[39] because there is a clear logical and thematic progression through all of them in sequence. Genre combinations are common in medieval writing, and we can draw no inference from the fact that scribes chose later to copy the subsections separately. Modern judgments about appropriate length are obviously subjective. And the opening words of the prayer, correctly read, refer directly back to the encomium, so that the prayer must be treated as the concluding section of the *Sermon* as a whole.[40]

An ingenious compromise is suggested by a recent editor, A. M. Moldovan. He proposes that *both* solutions may be true: that Ilarion may have composed and delivered the parts separately and then have brought them together and provided the links. Thus there are two or three authentically separate texts, combined and edited by Ilarion himself (rather than by a later scribe) as a single—equally authentic—text.

The choice of solution is not crucial. Two things are clear: both the separability of the parts (exegesis, eulogy, prayer), and the compositional and thematic coherence of the whole. The *Sermon* can be discussed as a trinity.

Ilariona," *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József. Dissertationes slavicae* 9–10 (1975): 115–55, who considers the prayer to be separate. See also I. N. Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati i poxvala kaganu Vladimiru," in in vol. 1 of his *Sočinenija* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 35–40. On the MSS of (a) and (b), see Moldovan, *Slovo*, 19–38; on the MSS of (d), see Rozov, "Iz tvorčeskogo nasledija."

39 E.g., A. V. Gorskij, in "Pamjatniki duxovnoj literatury vremen velikogo knjazja Jaroslava I," in *Pribavlenija k tvorenijam svjatyx otcov v russkom perevode,* pt. 2 (Moscow, 1844), 212–13; most recently V. N. Toporov, "Rabotniki odinnadcatogo časa—'Slovo o zakone i blagodati' i drevnerusskie realii," *Russian Literature* 24, no. 1 (July 1988): 1–127.

40 A. M. Moldovan, "K voprosu o svjazi 'Molitvy' Ilariona so 'Slovom o zakone i blagodati,'" in *Istorija russkogo jazyka i lingvističeskoe istočnikovedenie*, ed. V. V. Ivanov and A. I. Sumkina (Moscow, 1987), 151–56.

The Confession of Faith and the Colophon

In the Synodal MS the Prayer is followed by three further texts: a version of the Nicene Creed ("I believe in one God, the Father All-sovereign, Maker of heaven and earth...");[41] a longer *Confessio fidei*, of a type similar to that written by the Byzantine author Michael Syncellus ("I believe in one God, glorified in the Trinity...");[42] and the colophon ("I, Ilarion, through the mercy of God...").[43] The *Confessio* may have been pronounced by Ilarion on his appointment as metropolitan. It concludes: "So I believe, and am not ashamed, and so I confess before the people. And for this confession I will even lay down my life. Glory to God for everything, to Him who gave me an office which passeth my strength. And pray for me, venerable teachers and rulers of the land of the Rus′. Amen." There then follows the colophon.

The Synodal MS is the only one which contains the *Confessio* and the colophon. The colophon refers directly to the *Confessio*, but it also provides the basis for the attribution of the *Sermon*, for the supposition that this manuscript preserves a copy of a kind of "authorized version" of collected works by Ilarion.[44]

Dubia and Spuria

Great names attract attributions. Just as heroic folktales from different times tend in transmission to cluster around known heroes, so anonymous written works wander through the pages of medieval manuscripts and modern scholarship in search of prestigious named authors.

41 Omitted by Gorskij and hence by Müller, *Lobrede*, 141; text in Rozov, "Sinodal′nyj spisok," 173–74; with Russian translation and photocopy of MS in *Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie*, 1:39, 62, 164–65; English translation by N. L. Ickler, "*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*: A Discourse on the Law and Grace," *Comitatus* 9 (1978): 46.

42 Text in Rozov, "Sinodal′nyj spisok," 174–75; cf. *Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie*, 1:39–41, 62–64, 166–71; Ickler, "*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*," 46–48. Greek text of Michael Syncellus in Müller, *Lobrede*, 189–92.

43 See above, p. xvii and n. 4.

44 For the fullest discussion of the problem of attribution, see Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," 1–40. Ždanov is sceptical about Ilarion's authorship of the *Sermon* but rightly points out that the loss or gain of a named author makes little difference to the significance of the work.

i) *Medieval attributions*

(a) A fragment of an exhortation to priests, urging them to consider their own sins as well as the sins of their flock.[45]

(b) *Epistle to a Stylite Brother*, otherwise headed "An Instruction by St. Ilarion to Those That Have Withdrawn from the World," known in well over a hundred manuscripts and including a further nine smaller texts listed separately by Nikol′skij.[46]

(c) *A Homily by St. Ilarion on the Use of the Soul*, included in the Synaxarion for 21 October.[47]

(d) A further fifteen homilies and instructions of various lengths, occasionally headed as if by Ilarion.[48] In general there is confusion in many manuscripts between Ilarion of Kiev and the fourth-century St. Ilarion.

ii) *Modern attributions*

Priselkov ascribed to Ilarion contributions to the *Primary Chronicle* up to the 1070s, following his theory that Ilarion, after being deposed by the furious Greeks, was transmuted into the monk and chronicler Nikon. Lixačev associates Ilarion with a hypothetical *Tale of the Early Spread of Christianity in Rus′* with which, in Lixačev's reconstruction, the *Chronicle* began. Others have seen Ilarion's hand behind passages in the 1076 *Izbornik*.[49] Such attributions are produced on the basis of lexical and ideological affinities: if some of the ideas and phrases are similar to those found in Ilarion, then Ilarion may have been—was probably—the author. Such argument is no argument. Even in discussions about more modern literature, where the quantities of material are incomparably more vast and where computers spew out database after database, stylistic analysis alone is a tenuous method of establishing authorship: witness the passionately meticulous debates every time a new addition to the Shakespearian corpus is proposed. Eleventh-century Rus′ cannot compete. In the small world of the Kievan ecclesiastical elite, in the "old boy network" of the Caves Monastery, one is hardly surprised to find similar ideas and

45 See N. K. Nikol′skij, *Materialy dlja povremennogo spiska russkix pisatelej i ix sočinenij* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 90 (with text).

46 Ibid., 91–105.

47 Ibid., 105–10.

48 Ibid., 110–22.

49 See above, n. 29; also Lixačev, *The Great Heritage*, 85–88.

styles and phrases surfacing in various places as parts of a shared vocabulary of culture. There is no need to assume either textual interdependency or authorial identity.

3. ILARION'S *SERMON ON LAW AND GRACE*

Scholars may argue the textual niceties, but on one issue they preserve a remarkable unanimity: Ilarion's sermon (or the sermon attributed to Ilarion) is *the* masterpiece of eleventh-century Kievan writing. It is a superb demonstration of stylistic virtuosity, a cogent and forceful specimen of theological and historical exegesis, a major monument of Kievan culture and thought. In other words, the sermon is universally praised for what it says, for the way it says it, and for the surprising fact that it exists at all.

The aim of the sermon is to explain and celebrate the status of the newly converted Rus′ in sacred and temporal history, and to proclaim the miraculous achievement of Volodimer. Ilarion takes the argument through three stages, narrowing the focus at each stage: first the theoretical, then the historical, then the personal; from theology, through history (universal > local), to biography.

In the theoretical section Ilarion explains the nature and shape of sacred history, the two great chapter headings of the book of the world, Law and Grace (bondage and freedom, the shadow and the truth, the Old Testament and the New, justification and salvation, Judaism and Christianity). For illustration Ilarion does not need to retell all of history. Instead he shows the Biblical clues: the correct way to read the Old Testament and to perceive its relationship to the New. The Old Testament is read on two levels simultaneously: as chronological narrative of particular events, and as symbolic prefiguration of the New Testament. Ilarion takes the story of Abraham's handmaid Hagar and his wife Sarah, and of their respective children Ishmael and Isaac. On the one level Hagar and Sarah and Ishmael and Isaac are simply part of history, people who lived long ago in the sequence of linear time. But on another level, when the story is read with the insight and hindsight afforded by the New Testament, they are also images, types, prefigurations, transcending time, signifying more than themselves. The relationship of Hagar and Ishmael to Sarah and Isaac *is*—figuratively—the relationship of the Old Testament to the New, of Judaism to Christianity, of Law to

Grace.

This is exegesis by "typology," common throughout medieval Christianity, and Ilarion uses it in its classic and most disciplined form to show how the Old Testament prefigures the New. But the methods of typological argument were often extended into wider forms of allegory: *all* the visible world, *all* temporal and spatial phenomena could be allegorically or symbolically decoded to reveal their providential significance. In medieval Christianity typology and allegory are basic forms of proof. Through them writers make sense of Creation, find the inner coherence beneath the outer multiplicity of things. This was the tradition taken up by the exegetic writers of Kievan Rus′—Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, Kirill of Turov. It was the skill of their learning, their art of persuasion.

Ilarion moves beyond typology, not into allegory but into history. He is concerned not just with the static coherence of texts which make sense of each other. The New Testament shows the meaning of history, but it is not the end of history. Just as it is prefigured in time, so it is fulfilled in time. Just as Isaac superseded Ishmael and Grace superseded Law, so, over time, the Christianity of the gentile nations superseded the Judaism of the tribes of Israel; and so, towards the end of time, Rus′ also became Christian. Thus Volodimer's decision to make his land Christian was not an arbitrary decision of a local ruler in the late tenth century; it is an integral and necessary part of sacred history, of the divine plan for mankind. In a sense the future Christianity of Rus′ is *already present* in the story of Hagar and Sarah. Thus, as Ilarion stresses, the comparative lateness of the actual conversion is not a sign of inferiority. Grace, by contrast with Law, is not limited to temporal or ethnic hierarchies: it extends equally to all the nations of the gentiles.

Ilarion's sermon starts with a story of people: Abraham, Hagar, Sarah, Ishmael, Isaac. Then the story of people is translated into a story of nations: the Jews and the Christian gentiles. Finally, in the encomium to Volodimer, the nation of the Rus′ is again translated into a person, into its prototypical representative, Volodimer.

The encomium to Volodimer can itself be divided into four parts. The first part is chronological: Volodimer's life (or Life) before his conversion (§§42–48). The second part is interpretative: making the case for Volodimer's sanctity (§§49–57). The third part is again chronological: the further proof of Volodimer's sanctity in the

flourishing Christian land under his son and successor Jaroslav (§§58–59). And the fourth part is a direct address to Volodimer for intercession (§§60–66). The encomium can be considered both as a rhetorical eulogy and as a form of hagiography, in a long tradition of Roman and Byzantine explicitly or implicitly hagiographical biographies and eulogies of rulers. The hagiographical structure is simple: the saint's life (distinguished family, exceptional childhood, adult virtues); the demonstration of his miracles both during his life and posthumously (the miracles which are the tangible evidence of sanctity); and a final plea to the saint for intercession. Ilarion was clearly aware of the formal criteria for sanctity, and he presents his case almost like a lawyer in court, calling his witnesses. The proof is:

(a) Volodimer was one of those blessed men who "have not seen, and yet have believed" (§51): he believed in Christ miraculously, without having seen him as the apostles had seen him, without even having read the Scriptures (§53).

(b) His almsgiving: an essential virtue in the ideal ruler (§55), as "witnessed" by Scripture (§56).

(c) His likeness to the prototype ruler-converter, Constantine the Great (§57), as further "witnessed" by his church-building activity (§58).

(d) Posthumous miracles: the "witness" is the glorious continuation and enhancement of Volodimer's works by Jaroslav (§59).

Throughout this demonstration, Ilarion constantly invokes "witnesses" from all parts of the Bible.

In the final address to Volodimer, Ilarion plays on a theme from the tale of the Annunciation. Jaroslav builds the Church of the Annunciation. At the Annunciation the archangel said to the Virgin, "Rejoice, for joy is given you." The same could now be said to the city of Kiev (§59) and to Volodimer himself as he surveys his works come to fruition (§§60–64). May Volodimer intercede with God for his people (§66).

Ilarion combines high rhetoric with extreme lucidity of argument. His meaning is explicit and plain, both in the structure and in the details. However, historians are professional intermediaries, a sect claiming esoteric paths to knowledge. Ilarion's sermon must have implicit meanings, a "hidden agenda" comprehensible to initiates. Poring over the entrails of the work, its modern interpreters discover that it is not just celebratory but also polemical. As one might expect,

different historians identify different targets. The sermon has been interpreted as principally anti-Bulgarian and/or anti-Byzantine and/or anti-Jewish.

In *Silver Blaze* Inspector Gregory inquires of Mr. Sherlock Holmes: "'Is there any other point to which you would wish to draw my attention?'

"'To the curious incident of the dog in the nighttime.'

"'The dog did nothing in the nighttime.'

"'That was the curious incident,' remarked Sherlock Holmes."

In Ilarion's sermon, according to one theory, Bulgaria is the equivalent of that curiously elusive dog. It is thought to be significant precisely because it is not there:[50] before the "freedom" proclaimed by Ilarion, the Church of Rus′ had lived in the "slavery" of subordination to the see of Ohrid; Ilarion's detestation for this supposed Bulgarian period is plain from the fact that he never mentions it explicitly, that he expunges the name from history, that he relies on dark hints, relegating it to the Shadow before the Truth.

The argument is irrefutable, but probably false. Ilarion is not writing a world chronicle. He omits many links in the chain of tradition in linear time. No inferences need be drawn (though sceptics should of course bear in mind that Sherlock Holmes turned out to be correct).

The "anti-Byzantine" thesis is far more popular and far more seductive. We have already touched on it with reference to the possible circumstances of Ilarion's appointment.[51] It derives from the idea that Ilarion is promoting the concept of *equality* for the Rus′ among Christian nations—surely a challenge to Byzantine imperial ideology, according to which the Byzantines regarded themselves as superior to, and the rightful rulers over, everybody else.

50 Priselkov, *Očerki*, 97–98.

51 See above, n. 30; also, e.g., N. V. Vodovozov, "'Slovo o zakone i blagodati'—drevnejšij pamjatnik russkoj literatury," in *O vzaimosvjazjax slavjanskix literatur*, Učenye zapiski Moskovskogo gosud. pedagogičeskogo instituta im. V. I. Lenina, 287 (Moscow, 1967), 425–42; N. M. Zolotuxina, *Razvitie russkoj srednevekovoj politiko-pravovoj mysli* (Moscow, 1985), 14–16; A. F. Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′ v srednevekovoj Rusi (XI–XVI vv.)* (Leningrad, 1987), 110–11; A. I. Abramov, "'Slovo o zakone i blagodati' kievskogo mitropolita Iliarona kak russkaja istoriosofskaja reakcija na xristiansko-ideologičeskuju èkspansiju Vizantii," in *Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie*, 2:82–95.

The thesis is founded on a series of oversimplifications: oversimplification of Byzantine imperial ideology, and of its relationship to policy; oversimplification of Ilarion's exegesis, and of its relationship to Byzantine tradition. It is a mistake to imagine that every Byzantine was bent on the subjugation of Kiev, and that every patriotic Kievan was bent on resisting this putative subjugation. Theoretically there might have been scope for such conflict, but in practice it was not a serious issue. No eleventh-century source, whether Byzantine or Kievan, ever indicates that Constantinople ever tried to oppress or humble the Kievan Church in any way. On the contrary, Jaroslav's cultural program was carried out with active help from Constantinople. Constantinople was the model, the standard, the measure of civilization. Every point in Ilarion's exegesis of sacred history is perfectly acceptable within Byzantine tradition, is derived *from* Byzantine tradition. There is no challenge to the status of *Rhōsia* as an ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of Constantinople (by contrast with tenth-century Bulgaria, for example, there is no demand for a separate patriarchate). Ilarion eloquently acknowledges the extent to which Volodimer was inspired by the tales of the piety of the "land of the Greeks" (§45). There is no defiance in likening Volodimer to Constantine the Great (§57), any more than there is defiance in likening Volodimer to an apostle (§§51, 64)![52]

Much is sometimes made of the fact that Volodimer was not actually canonized until the mid- or late thirteenth century, some two hundred years after Ilarion's sermon,[53] so that Ilarion's advocacy

52 See A. Avenarius, "Metropolitan Hilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus': The Transformation of the Byzantine Inheritance," in *Proceedings*, 689–710. Proof that the comparison with Constantine was no insult to Byzantium comes from the capital itself: in the mid-ninth century Patriarch Photius used it when writing to Khan Boris of Bulgaria: see *Photii Patriarchae constantinopolitani epistulai eti amphilochia*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1983), eds. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, 19; Eng. trans. in D. S. White and J. R. Berrigan, *The Patriarch and the Prince: The Letter of Patriarch Photius of Constantinople to Khan Boris of Bulgaria* (Brookline, Mass., 1982), 56.

53 I. I. Malyševskij, "Kogda i gde vpervye bylo ustanovleno prazdnovanie pamjati sv. Vladimira?" *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii* 23, no. 1 (1882): 45–69, argues for the period between 15 July 1240 and the end of that year, at the instigation of Aleksandr Nevskij; also V. P. Vasil'ev, *Istorija kanonizacii russkix svjatyx (Moscow, 1893)* (= *Čtenija*, 166, pt. 3), 76–83. G. Fedotov, "Kanonizacija svjatogo Vladimira," in *Vladimirskij sbornik v pamjat' 950-letija kreščenija Rusi* (Belgrade, 1938), 188–96, suggests the end of the thirteenth century; in 1284, according to J. Fennell, "The

apparently *failed* to persuade the relevant (Byzantine) authorities.[54] However, the lack of formal, institutional canonization does not need to imply a denial of Volodimer's sanctity. There were generally accepted criteria for formal canonization, but in medieval Orthodoxy sanctity could be acknowledged on many levels and in many ways. Attitudes to sanctity tended to be permissive and inclusive and flexible. The validity of local cults, of the veneration of local holy men, did not have to be ratified from the center. Sooner or later the figure of veneration may or may not find his way into the local calendar and have an office ("propers") read on his feast day; and from here the cult may or may not spread to other regions. There is no single, central, exclusive list of approved saints.

In hindsight it seems somewhat surprising that the cult of Volodimer was not institutionalized sooner, despite Ilarion and despite the subsequent eulogy by the monk Iakov and despite a brief Life dating from the Kievan period;[55] surprising that the princely saints of Kievan Rus′ are Boris and Glěb rather than Volodimer. Yet there would have been no formal obstacle to prevent Ilarion (as metropolitan) and Jaroslav from institutionalizing a cult of Volodimer themselves. Not everything can be blamed on centuries of suppression by the nasty Greeks. There may have been local reasons, and for an explanation we should perhaps look to the Kievans themselves rather than take the simple path of foisting responsibility onto an outside agency. Perhaps for the Rus′ the status of Volodimer was so obvious that it hardly needed formal confirmation, so that in effect he *was* regarded as a saint.[56] Or perhaps they were genuinely concerned by the lack of conventional posthumous miracles, for all Ilarion's ingenious pleading: this, at any rate, is the obstacle mentioned (but not accepted) by

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Canonization of Saint Vladimir," in *Tausend Jahre Christentum in Russland. Zum Millennium der Taufe der Kiever Rus'*, ed. K. C. Felmy et al. (Göttingen, 1988), 299–304.

54 Priselkov, *Očerki*, 106–9, 227–29, 274–79, 303–5.

55 A. A. Zimin, "Pamjat′ i poxvala Iakova mnixa i Žitie knjazja Vladimira po drevnejšemu spisku," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 37 (1963): 66–75; dated variously from the late eleventh century to the early thirteenth century.

56 Malyševskij, Vasil′ev, and Fedotov (see above, n. 53) all accept that there was veneration of Volodimer long before his feast day was institutionalized. See also A. S. Xorošev, *Političeskaja istorija russkoj kanonizacii (XI–XVI vv.)* (Moscow, 1986), 48–49, 85–88.

Iakov.[57] Or, by contrast, perhaps the Kievan elite had difficulty in persuading their own people—rather than the Byzantines—to accept a cult of an authoritarian ruler who baptized with threats (§47). In the longer term Ilarion's eulogy did come to be used in readings for Volodimer's feast day; but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there is no trace of any *popular* cult of Volodimer comparable to the incipient popular cult of Boris and Glěb, with wonder-working relics and miracles of healing.

Ilarion was not addressing the Byzantines. He was, so to speak, preaching to the converted, to the Christian Kievan elite at the head of a country still largely pagan, to the representatives of the dynasty, telling them how wonderful they all were. If there is an implicit polemic, then it is directed inwards rather than outwards, and it is to be found in his idealized depiction of what had been accomplished in his own society. Christianity was still a thin, if exquisite, veneer. The daily struggle for a Kievan priest was still against rampant or vestigial paganism rather than against Constantinopolitan ideology. Ilarion's eulogy of Volodimer (but not his Biblical exegesis, as we shall see) celebrates the triumph of Christianity over paganism (§§44, 48, 64). His assertions are true ideally but not literally. This is the continuing effort for which—if we must seek hidden agendas—he rallies his audience.

The anti-Jewish polemic is different. It is explicit in Ilarion's presentation of sacred history, of Law and Grace. One could argue that this is a genuine contemporary polemic aimed at Jews in Kiev or at those who might be attracted to Judaism.[58] The Khazar empire, ruled by Jews, was a relatively recent memory: it had been destroyed by Volodimer's father Svjatoslav. There were Jews in Kiev, and we have an eleventh-century account indicating that to go out and revile

57 Zimin, "Pamjat′ i poxvala Iakova mnixa," 73.

58 Toporov, "Rabotniki odinnadcatogo časa," 20–27; also V. V. Kožinov, "Tvorčestvo Ilariona i istoričeskaja real′nost′ ego èpoxi," *Voprosy literatury*, 1988, no. 12:130–50; objections to Kožinov by M. A. Robinson and L. I. Sazonova, "Mnimaja i real′naja istoričeskaja dejstvitel′nost′ èpoxi sozdanija 'Slova o zakoni i blagodati' Ilariona," ibid., 151–75; and the continuation of the polemic in *Voprosy literatury*, 1989, no. 9:236–42 (Kožinov) and 242–52 (Robinson, Sazonova); for early opposition to the "anti-Jewish" thesis, see Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," 74–80.

the Jews was considered a Christian virtue.[59] However, Ilarion's anti-Jewish rhetoric is no more or less intense than that of scores of other Orthodox theologians and chroniclers both in Greek and in Slavonic throughout the Middle Ages. Ilarion did not invent or significantly modify either his basic method of scriptural exegesis or his basic account of sacred history. Jews are ubiquitous targets of medieval Christian historiographical and exegetic tirades, but by no means all writers had specific Jews in mind. In Ilarion's sermon the anti-Jewish rhetoric is confined to the more theoretical and universal sections of the work concerned with the operations of Law and Grace and the general shape of providential history. These are symbolic Jews, who inhabit the foreign and distant past, Jews in the Bible, Jews in Jerusalem.[60] Once Ilarion turns his attention to the local and recent past, to Kiev and Volodimer, then he shows Kievan Christianity overcoming not Judaism but paganism. Judaism still provides the theological and historical contrast (e.g., §40), but the real conquered enemy is paganism. Ilarion does not push his conventional argument beyond its conventional context. This does not mean that Ilarion either liked or approved of contemporary Jews, or that he and his audience would have been incapable of finding contemporary resonances in the polemic. But it is unlikely that his remarks were primarily intended or perceived as being directed against real Jews in his own city.

We do not need to look for a hidden agenda in Ilarion. Ilarion is exceptional among Kievan rhetoricians precisely because he *is* specific. Almost all other exponents of high rhetoric use the magic of

59 In Nestor's *Vita* of Feodosij, *Uspenskij sbornik,* fol. 57a, lines 3–23 (p. 119). For surveys of Kievan attitudes, see H. Birnbaum, "On Some Evidence of Jewish Life and Anti-Jewish Sentiments in Medieval Russia," *Viator* 4 (1973): 225–55; G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), 78–80. O. Pritsak, "The Pre-Ashkenazic Jews of Eastern Europe in Relation to the Khazars, the Rus' and the Lithuanians," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. P. J. Potičnyj and H. Aster (Edmonton, 1988), 7–13, argues that, despite the Khazar background, there were few Jews and no significant anti-Jewish sentiments in eleventh- and twelfth-century Kiev.

60 G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind,* vol. 1, *Kievan Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 91–92, does detect in Kievan literature—including Ilarion—a preoccupation with Jewish themes. However, Fedotov sees this as a consequence of the Kievans' predilection for historical narrative (and hence an aesthetic affinity with Jewish writings) rather than as a reflection of contemporary social and religious tensions.

language as a kind of charm with which to free themselves from time and place, to transcend the transient, to create a purity of discourse uncontaminated by vulgar reminders of locality and individuality. Ilarion, too, uses the charm. But its function is different. He aims not to elevate his discourse above the times, but to elevate the times through his discourse.

Ilarion knows and exploits all the tricks of the craft. The controlled rhythms of the structure are echoed in the controlled rhythms and sounds of the paragraphs, sentences, and phrases: in the anaphoric repetitions and rhetorical questions; in the doublets and triplets of word and clause; in agglomerations of balanced antitheses; in the syntactic parallelisms which, in a highly inflected language like Church Slavonic, produce a kind of rhythmic assonance verging on rhyme. He is a virtuoso performer.[61]

Ilarion's virtuosity is not a luxury, not just a device to ease the mind and senses through the passage of an argument. The display is actually *part of* the argument, a matter of content as much as of form. Ilarion, as much as Jaroslav, is the cultural heir and beneficiary of Volodimer, and in his sermon he constructs a monument in words just as Jaroslav constructed monuments in brick and stone. Volodimer's achievement was to make Rus′ a land where it was possible to write like Ilarion, where it was possible to gather and address men who had "feasted to fulfillment on the sweetness of books" (§4). Ilarion's style is more than merely the medium for his message: it is itself a powerful item of evidence proving his case.

[61] On Ilarion's rhythmic and rhetorical devices, see Fennell and Stokes, *Early Russian Literature*, 45–55; Toporov, "Rabotniki odinnadcatogo časa," 67–82. On patterns of stress in Ilarion and others, see R. Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian Prose," in *Slavic Poetics. Essays in Honour of Kiril Taranovsky*, ed. R. Jakobson et al. (The Hague and Paris, 1973), 299–331. On the notion that sections of Ilarion's work do in fact constitute poems, see K. Taranovsky, "Formy obščeslavjanskogo i cerkovnoslavjanskogo stixa v drevnerusskoj literature XI–XIII vv.," in *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1968), 380–81; supported by Toporov, loc. cit. L. I. Sazonova, "Princip ritmičeskoj organizacii v proizvedenijax toržestvennogo krasnorečija staršej pory ('Slovo o zakone i blagodati' Ilariona, 'Poxvala sv. Simeonu i sv. Savve' Domentiana)," *TODRL* 28 (1974): 30–46, analyzes syntactic equivalence and disputes the idea that this is poetry.

Ilarion was one of a small group of people responsible for creating what was to become the definitive image of the emergence of the Rus′ into Christianity and civilization. Between them Ilarion and the makers of the *Primary Chronicle* created the basic mythologies of national and cultural identity. The main elements of the myth are: a distinguished and belligerent pagan dynasty before Volodimer;[62] Volodimer himself as the pivotal figure at the intersection of the epochs; and a Christian culture[63] proud of its achievements in assimilating the models from the land of the Greeks.

Ilarion and the *Chronicle* differ from one another in emphasis and presentation. The *Chronicle* traces the prehistory of the Rus′ back to the Flood; Ilarion, focusing more narrowly on the rulers of Kiev, goes back no further than Volodimer's grandfather Igor′. The *Chronicle* describes the many Slavonic and non-Slavonic tribes in the Kievan domain; Ilarion is only interested in Kiev as the center and source of authority. The *Chronicle* shows Ol′ga as a military ruler as well as a convert; Ilarion hints at the military prowess of Igor′ and Svjatoslav but confines Ol′ga to her iconic role as a likeness of Constantine's mother Helen (§57).[64] The *Chronicle* speaks of Volodimer as a prince, Ilarion honors him with the title of *kagan*.[65] In the *Chronicle* Volodimer's decision is reached after painstaking investigation and

62 Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," 56–58, reckoned that this synthesis of pagan past and Christian present was characteristic but uneasy. V. S. Gorskij, "Obraz istorii v 'Slove o zakone i blagodati' Ilariona," in *Čelovek i istorija v srednevekovoj filosofskoj mysli russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, ed. id. (Kiev, 1987), 39–49, argues that Ilarion is engaged in a polemical attempt to rehabilitate the glorious pagan past whose memory the Church had allegedly tried to suppress; cf. also Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′*, 113. There is no evidence to support either interpretation. In fact the historiographical synthesis of Christian and pagan is equivalent to that of Byzantium, where the pre-Christian *imperium* was gloriously established by the pagan Augustus and brought to perfection by Constantine.

63 There is a curious fashion among some recent writers on Kievan "philosophy" to argue that Ilarion's mode of thought is not "really" Christian at all; e.g., N. A. Kormin, T. V. Ljubimova, and N. V. Piljugina, "Xarakter filosofskogo myšlenija Ilariona v 'Slove o zakone i blagodati,'" in *Čelovek i istorija*, 58–67.

64 Ol′ga *was* in fact baptized Helen, but probably after the wife of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus rather than after the mother of Constantine the Great.

65 On the use of this title in Kievan Rus′, see A. P. Novosel′cev, "K voprosu ob odnom iz drevnejšix titulov russkogo knjazja," *Istorija SSSR*, 1982, no. 4:150–59; Arrignon, "Remarques sur le titre de Kagan," 63–71.

much hesitation and outside persuasion. Ilarion emphasizes the *lack* of any preparation for Volodimer's decision, its miraculous and unpredictable nature. The *Chronicle* gives Volodimer apostolic and Slavonic precursors, Greek assistance, and political motivation (St. Andrew, who planted a cross on the future site of Kiev; Cyril and Methodius; the marriage to a Byzantine princess; the "Cherson legend"); Ilarion presents Volodimer's decision as unprecedented, unaided, inexplicable except through divine Grace. Such discrepancies are not disagreements reflecting a tussle over the legacy of Volodimer. They are the differences of emphasis proper to the different genres, the different forms, contexts, and traditions of writing.[66]

4. ILARION AND HIS SOURCES

Neither Ilarion's theological arguments nor his rhetorical images are his own. He did not sit down and work out from scratch a theory of providential history or a system of correspondences between the Old Testament and the New. The fullest range of quotations in his *Sermon* is of course from the Bible, but Ilarion's Bible is filtered through centuries of commentaries and annotation and interpretation. Frequently he did not even have to select quotations to match his arguments, since thematic exegesis, complete with appropriate sets of Biblical quotations, was available to him.[67] He must have been familiar with Biblical commentaries (especially of Genesis and the prophets). Such commentaries regularly included apocryphal accretions. He knew well the liturgy and the Psalms. Clearly he was also acquainted with traditions of hagiography and rhetorical eulogy.

This much is uncontroversial and vague. It is far more difficult to locate specific sources, specific works by named authors who influenced him. There have been many candidates: Cyrillo-Methodian, patristic and Byzantine (whether in Greek or in Slavonic translation), and Latin.

(a) Cyrillo-Methodian: that is, Slavonic works which originated in the aftermath of the missions of St. Cyril and St. Methodius to Moravia in the ninth century. N. N. Rozov, publishing material from

66 *Pace* Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," 58–72; see Müller, "Ilarion und die Nestorchronik." Further on genres, see below, pp. civ–cvi.
67 Ždanov, "Slovo o zakone i blagodati," 11–16.

the archive of N. K. Nikol′skij,[68] suggests that the *Sermon* reveals the textual influence of the *Vita* of St. Cyril and of a eulogy to him, of a panegyric to Cyril and Methodius, of the *Vita* of St. Vitus, and of legends of St. Václav. X. P. Trendafilov proposes that Ilarion borrowed ideas and quotations from an account of Cyril's disputation with the Jews of Khazaria.[69]

(b) Byzantine and liturgical: Ludolf Müller prints an extract from Ephrem Syrus equivalent in structure to Ilarion's extended comparison of Christ's human and divine attributes at § 26.[70] He also prints the Greek text of Michael Syncellus equivalent to Ilarion's *Confession of Faith*[71] (several versions of this text by Michael Syncellus were available in Slavonic translation). Other authors in whose works Müller finds parallels to (but not necessarily direct sources of) Ilarion's phrases include Macarius of Egypt, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicetas of Paphlagonia, Theophylact of Ohrid, Eusebius of Caesarea, the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, as well as liturgies and apocryphal gospels.[72]

(c) Latin: Müller indicates a link between a sentence in Ilarion and the Latin liturgical formula "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat" (cf. § 48).[73] In considering how Ilarion might have come to know this formula, Müller speculates that he might have traveled to France in the entourage of Jaroslav's daughter Anna when she married the French king Henry I. Wladimir Vodoff suggests on grounds of chronology that Ilarion may have heard the formula from the French delegation in Kiev (Ilarion would not have traveled to France, since the marriage did not take place before 1051).[74] By contrast A. I. Poljakov sees no need to limit the Latin influence to the occasional phrase. In his view Ilarion was quite capable of immersing himself in Latin theology. Poljakov proposes that Ilarion's exegetic

68 N. N. Rozov, "Iz istorii russko-češskix literaturnyx svjazej (o predpolagaemyx zapadnoslavjanskix istočnikax sočinenij Ilariona)," *TODRL* 23 (1968): 71–85.

69 X. P. Trendafilov, "Polemičeskoe nasledie Konstantina Filosofa i ego tradicii v literature Drevnej Rusi" (Avtoreferat kand. diss., Moscow, 1984).

70 Müller, *Lobrede*, 187–88.

71 Ibid., 189–92.

72 See the "sachlicher Kommentar" in ibid., 146–78 passim.

73 Müller, *Die Werke*, 80–89.

74 W. Vodoff, *Naissance de la Chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988), 325.

method was influenced by his reading of St. Augustine.[75]

A. F. Zamaleev believes that Ilarion was influenced by Arianism,[76] but he does not state by what textual route Ilarion may have arrived at this heresy.

The list is impressive, varied, sometimes eccentric, and not informative. In almost all cases the named authors provide thematic or very brief phraseological parallels, but the textual coincidences are too fragmentary and approximate to allow us to establish either a direct source or even the language or languages through which Ilarion absorbed his theology and rhetoric.[77] Among the extant rhetoricians from Kievan Rus′, Ilarion is unique in this respect. Unlike Klim Smoljatič, Ilarion does not copy large chunks of his sources verbatim. Unlike Kirill of Turov, he does not produce extended paraphrases of extracts from the works of his predecessors. He speaks in commonplaces, but the expression and the combination and the application of the commonplaces are his own. Equivalent images and figures can be found in a very wide range of Greek, Latin, and Slavonic writings.

For example, N. Adkin, in his study of "the shadow and the truth" as a metaphor for the Old and New Testaments or for Judaism and Christianity (cf. Ilarion §§6, 11, 15, 17, 33) traces the image through Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Eusebius, Jerome, and many others.[78] It is quite impossible to tell from which of these (if from any) or through what intermediaries or in what language Ilarion became familiar with the antithesis of "shadow" and "truth." Both parts of it are Biblical, but the antithetical combination is patristic and widespread.

75 A. I. Poljakov, "Metod simvoličeskoj èksegezy v istoriosofskoj teologii Ilariona," in *Idejno-filosofskoe nasledie*, 2:66ff.; cf. Rozov, "Iz istorii russko-češskix literaturnyx svjazej," who prints a number of Latin parallels noted by Nikol′skij, but concludes that there is no evidence of direct borrowing.

76 Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′*, 114–15; for the notion of Arian influences in Kievan Christianity, see also A. G. Kuz′min, "Zapadnye tradicii v russkom xristianstve," in *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi*, ed. A. D. Suxov (Moscow, 1987), 21–54.

77 See F. Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works By Early Russian Authors as an Indication of the Cultural Level of Kievan Russia," *Slavica gandensia* 10 (1983): 65–66, 74–76.

78 N. Adkin, "The Shadow and the Truth. An Unidentified Antithesis in the Fathers," *Giornale italiano di filologia*, n. s. 15 (1984): 245–52.

Ilarion assimilated a theological and rhetorical tradition and applied it for his own purposes. To say that he speaks in commonplaces is not to say that he was narrowly imitative. His commonplaces are the lingua franca of medieval exegesis, a set of structures and images with which to represent the world, a language of thought and expression not bound by the limits of natural or national language. We do not know whether or how widely Ilarion read in Greek.[79] We do know that he was a master of this supranational language of interpretation: that he manipulated its vocabulary and its phraseology (in their Church Slavonic version)[80] fluently and freely to produce his own composition. In this sense Ilarion's achievement was linguistic as much as philosophical or theological or historiographical. It was a linguistic achievement not just because Ilarion was a stylist who could use formal devices to shape elegantly rhythmic prose. Ilarion's skill was to translate persuasively the past and the present of Rus′ into the terms and structures of the prestigious interpretative metalanguage of medieval Christianity. Volodimer brought Christianity to the Rus′; Ilarion brought the Rus′ into Christianity.

[79] Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works," 65–102, concludes that Ilarion is the *only* Kievan writer whose sources cannot be shown to be limited to works available in Slavonic translation.

[80] Ilarion comes closer to a "pure" Church Slavonic than any other writer from Kievan Rus′. However, Church Slavonic is not a rigidly fixed system. There are always local features. For a (somewhat overstated) survey of East Slavonic "elements" in Ilarion, see N. A. Meščerskij, "K izučeniju jazyka 'Slova o zakone i blagodati,'" *TODRL* 30 (1976): 231–37.

II. KLIM SMOLJATIČ

1. KLIM SMOLJATIČ AND ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS

On 27 July 1147, at the instigation of Prince Izjaslav M′stislavič of Kiev, grandson of Volodimer Monomax, a synod of the bishops of Rus′ elected and installed a new metropolitan. The installation of a new metropolitan should be an occasion for decorous celebration, a display of communal dignity and joyous solemnity. In fact the synod of 1147 reached the most contentious and divisive decision in the history of the Kievan Church. It caused an open rift between Kiev and Constantinople, not fully healed for nearly twenty years. It split the bishops, fueled the rancor between the Rjurikid princes, and, as if the political and ecclesiastical repercussions were not enough, the new incumbent seemed to delight in intellectual controversy as well. This new incumbent, so acrimoniously elevated at the synod of 1147, was Klim (Clement) Smoljatič. Klim was the "other" native metropolitan, almost exactly a century after Ilarion. Apart from their nationality, the two have virtually nothing in common. One must beware of facile and anachronistic analogies. Klim was born into a very different Rus′.

We do not know *when* Klim was born or when he died. The last reference to him is in the chronicle entries dated 1163/64. The earliest references are the accounts of the synod of 1147, where we find most of the scraps over which some historians haggle to create his hypothetical biography.

Klim, as we said, was a *rusin*[81] and thus already an exception: almost certainly the only native metropolitan apart from Ilarion. Before his appointment, Klim had been a monk, probably for several years: according to one chronicle he had been a *kaluger* (from the Greek *kalogeros*), a monastic elder;[82] according to another chronicle he was a *sximnik*,[83] bearer of the *sxima* or "great habit" worn by those who were far advanced in the spiritual life. Further details are obscure. Klim is called "Smoljatič": for some this implies that he

81 *PSRL* 1:315.

82 Ibid., 315.

83 *PSRL* 2:340.

was from Smolensk,[84] for others it means that his father was called Smoljata.[85] Prince Izjaslav M′stislavič is said to have brought Klim to the metropolitanate "*iz zaruba*."[86] This is variously interpreted as meaning from the monastery of Zarub near Kiev,[87] from the monastery of Zarub near Smolensk,[88] or simply from a monastic cell.[89] To conclude, the Hypatian Chronicle describes Klim's intellectual status: he was "a bookman and philosopher such as there had never been in the land of Rus′."[90] As we shall see, in the mid-twelfth century the label of "philosopher" could be a barbed compliment.

The sparse biographical information reveals only that Klim was a venerable monk distinguished for his learning. Why should it have been controversial to appoint such a man as metropolitan?

According to the account in the Hypatian Chronicle,[91] the argument at the synod was purely procedural, a question of observing the due processes laid down in canon law: whether or not it was permissible for a local synod of bishops to install a metropolitan without the blessing of the patriarch of Constantinople. The Hypatian Chronicle tells of seven bishops at the synod: Onufrij of Černihiv, Feodor of Bilhorod, Evfimij of Perejaslav, Dem′jan of Jur′ev, Feodor of Volodymyr, Nifont of Novgorod, and Manuel of Smolensk.[92] Onufrij argued that the local synod did have the authority to elect its metropolitan;

84 E.g., N. K. Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1892), II; Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:63; O. V. Tvorogov, in *Slovar′ knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1, *XI–pervaja polovina XIV v.* (Leningrad, 1987), 227.

85 E.g., Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:306; A. Poppe, "Klim (Kliment) Smoljatič," in Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 289–90.

86 *PSRL* 2:340.

87 Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:306; cf. Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, II.

88 E.g., Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 61. Note that Sokolov interprets "Smoljatič" to mean that Klim was a monk in Smolensk rather than that he was born there. The Zarub near Kiev is better attested in pre-Mongol sources: see Neroznak, *Nazvanija*, 74.

89 Poppe, "Klim Smoljatič," 289. This would be a somewhat strained use of the word *zarub*; cf. the use of *porub* (=a guarded monastic cell, a place of monastic imprisonment) in the chronicle's entry for the same year: *PSRL* 1:313.

90 *PSRL* 2:340.

91 Ibid., 340–41.

92 On the differences between various accounts of the synod, see below, p. lv n. 120.

that the local hierarchy derived its authority from the apostolic succession not only through Constantinople but from St. Clement: "We have the head of St. Clement, just as the Greeks appoint by the hand of St. John." Two of the bishops, Manuel and Nifont, objected: "The law does not permit bishops to appoint a metropolitan; the metropolitan is appointed by the patriarch." Klim had "not received blessing either in St. Sophia or from the patriarch," and therefore the appointment was illegitimate.

The arguments are finely balanced. Nifont, Manuel, and Klim himself were all authorities on canon law.[93] In theory Izjaslav and the majority were probably right: canon law might notionally allow for the election of a metropolitan by the local bishops. But custom had established the sanction of the patriarch, his right to ratify the final decision, and established custom could not be lightly overturned.[94]

The most reliable sources give no other reason for the dispute, and Nifont and Manuel offer no other objections to Klim. However, we would be naïve to suppose that the controversy arose entirely on account of a legal technicality. It would be as well to look for other issues and circumstances on account of which this particular technicality came to be seen as critical.

Behind the argument about procedure lies the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. The obvious first inference, therefore, is that the controversial appointment of Klim reflects and exacerbates a dispute between Kiev and Constantinople: that it represents an attempt by Izjaslav, backed by the majority of local bishops, to gain greater autonomy for the national church of Rus′.[95] Izjaslav M′stislavič had become prince of Kiev only the previous year. He "sat on the throne of his grandfather and of his father" at a grand ceremony in St. Sophia on 13 August 1146 in the presence of monks and abbots and "the priests of all the

93 Advice on canon law, attributed to Nifont and to Klim, is recorded by the Novgorodian monk Kirik: see *RIB* 6 (1880): 29, 31–33, 52; also S. I. Smirnov, *Drevnerusskij duxovnik* (1914; repr. Farnborough, 1970), 104–32.

94 On the synod, see Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 65–83; also, on the canonical issues, Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow," 48–55.

95 E.g., (Metropolitan) Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1888), 13–16; Priselkov, *Očerki*, 374–78; M. Čubatyj, *Istorija xrystyjanstva na Rusi-Ukrajini*, vol. 1 (Rome and New York, 1965), 464–76.

city of Kiev."[96] But the chronicler does not mention the presence of the metropolitan. The previous metropolitan, Michael, had been closely associated with Izjaslav's predecessor on the Kievan throne, Vsevolod Ol′govič. We cannot tell whether the omission is accidental, or whether he was deliberately excluded by Izjaslav, or whether he resigned and returned to Constantinople of his own accord.[97] At the 1147 synod Manuel and Nifont speak of a document from Michael enjoining them not to serve in St. Sophia without the legitimate metropolitan.[98] It appears, therefore, that relations between Izjaslav and the Constantinopolitan hierarchy were already strained before the prince decided to bypass the patriarch and press for the appointment of Klim.

It was a favorable moment. In mid-1147 there was in fact no generally recognized patriarch to be bypassed. The patriarch Cosmas II Atticus had been deposed in February of that year by a synod in Constantinople, ostensibly for association with Bogomil heretics. Cosmas refused to accept his removal from office, and the emperor Manuel I only managed to secure the appointment of a successor, Nicholas Mouzalon, in December.[99] So in July 1147, when Izjaslav summoned his council of bishops in Rus′, the patriarchate was tainted and vacant. Izjaslav could present a perfectly reasonable and practical case: Rus′ needed a metropolitan; there was no patriarch, so the local bishops needed to act on their own as a canonically justifiable necessity rather than as an act of willful insubordination.

However, even if Klim's path to office was smoothed by the disarray in Constantinople, we cannot view him simply as a "stopgap," as a temporary expedient. Order was restored to the Constantinopolitan hierarchy when Nicholas Mouzalon was installed as patriarch in December 1147, but Izjaslav and Klim now apparently made no attempt to regularize ecclesiastical relations. Constantinople backed the dissenting bishops Manuel and Nifont, and refused to recognize Klim as metropolitan. Klim and Izjaslav responded with

96 *PSRL* 2:327.

97 P. L[ebedincev], "Mixail, mitropolit kievskij XII veka (1131–1147 goda)," *Kievskaja starina* 39 (1892): 323–36; Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 55–59; A. Poppe, "Michael (Michail) I," in Podskalsky, *Christentum*, 288–89.

98 *PSRL* 2:341.

99 See Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 60; also D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), 221–22.

firmness. In 1149 Nifont was summoned from Novgorod to Kiev and placed under a kind of house arrest in the Caves Monastery because he continued to question Klim's legitimacy.[100] Still he tried to persuade the prince to depose Klim. Nicholas Mouzalon sent him a letter of sympathy and support, calling Klim an "evil serpent" and reiterating the assertion that Klim had not been properly appointed because he had not received patriarchal blessing.[101] Nifont was released, and Klim was temporarily deposed, after Izjaslav was driven out of Kiev for a time by his uncle Jurij Dolgorukij of Suzdal′ in 1149.[102] Klim was more securely deposed only after the death of his patron Izjaslav in 1154. His successor, a Greek named Constantine who was appointed in 1155 and came to Kiev from Constantinople in 1156, was met with joy on his arrival by Bishop Manuel of Smolensk.[103] Constantine's first action as metropolitan was to declare null and void all ecclesiastical appointments made by Klim. He then reinstated only those clergymen who were prepared to write him a formal denunciation of Klim. This was no mere technicality. In the eyes of Constantinople Klim had never properly been metropolitan,[104] so none of his decisions could be binding or valid.

Klim was not yet beaten. His living ghost continued to haunt ecclesiastical politics for almost a futher decade. In his own eyes and in the view of his supporters he was still the (or a) legitimate head of the Church in Rus′. In the unstable years of princely infighting, each new ruler of Kiev had to make a decision about what to do with Klim and about who should be acknowledged as the "real" metropolitan. Klim was perhaps reinstated for a few months in the winter of 1158/59 on the accession of Izjaslav's son M′stislav. But when M′stislav invited his uncle Rostislav M′stislavič of Smolensk (Izjaslav's

100 *PSRL* 2:484; *NPL*, 28.

101 Text in Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 3:297; Eng. trans. in Heppell, *Paterik*, 233. For doubts over the authenticity of the extant wording, see F. B. Poljakov, "Zur Authentizität des Briefes vom Patriarchen Nikolaos IV. Muzalon an den Novgoroder Erzbischof Nifont," *Die Welt der Slawen*, n.s. 12 (1988): 283–302.

102 *NPL*, 28. Jurij occupied Kiev from the summer of 1149 to March 1151, with a brief interlude in the summer of 1150.

103 *PSRL* 2:485.

104 He is not included in later lists of metropolitans: see *NPL*, 163, 473. Note that Metropolitan Ilarion *is* included in these lists: another indication that the two cases are not strictly analogous.

brother) to rule in Kiev, the ecclesiastical dispute almost wrecked his plans. M′stislav was strongly in favor of Klim, while Rostislav insisted that only Constantine was acceptable as the legitimate metropolitan. The two princes agreed to a compromise: they would have neither Klim nor Constantine but would instead request the patriarch to send a fresh candidate.[105] Fortunately for the alliance and for patriarchal diplomacy, Constantine died early in 1159.[106] The patriarch could therefore with less embarrassment send the new man, Theodore, as a successor to Constantine rather than as his replacement. This Theodore reached Kiev in August 1160.

Still the problem of Klim was not resolved. Potentially, and despite the compromise between Rostislav and M′stislav, there were still two metropolitans. Theodore died in 1162.[107] At last Rostislav tried to accomplish what might have been the simplest course from the start: to unify the metropolitanate by formally legitimizing the position of Klim.[108] He sent an envoy to Constantinople with the request that Klim finally be given patriarchal blessing. The request was forestalled even before the envoy had the chance to negotiate: on the way to Byzantium he met the patriarch's delegation on its way to Kiev. So Rostislav's envoy returned home with flattering words, rich gifts, and a new appointee, John IV, as metropolitan. Rostislav was annoyed but outmaneuvered.[109] The "Klim affair" was closed. Henceforth Klim

105 *PSRL* 2:503.

106 *PSRL* 1:349; according to the chronicle, Constantine died in Černihiv, having fled Kiev because of M′stislav's opposition to him.

107 *PSRL* 2:522, in the entry for the year 6671. The Hypatian Chronicle for these years uses the "ultra-March" style of dating (whereby 6671 corresponds to the period from March 1162 to February 1163) rather than the more usual "March" style (whereby 6671 would run from March 1163 to February 1164): see on this entry, and on the length of Theodore's tenure, N. G. Berežkov, *Xronologija russkogo letopisanija* (Moscow, 1963), 174–76, 334.

108 Others have tended to see Rostislav's apparent change of mind in the context of a concurrent dispute over the rules for fasting rather than as a possible attempt at compromise: see Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 112–15.

109 *PSRL* 2:522, in the entry for 6672 (1163/64 "ultra-March": see Berežkov, *Xronologija*, 176). The chronicle's account breaks off in midsentence. Tatiščev fills the gap with a speech by Rostislav demanding that for the future metropolitans must be appointed only after consultation with the Rus′: see V. N. Tatiščev, *Istorija rossijskaja*, ed. S. N. Valk and M. N. Tixomirov, vol. 3 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), 79. Tatiščev's evidence is accepted as probably authentic by Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi* 3:20–21, and by Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow," 68–70; it is

disappears from the pages of the chronicles.

Why did Constantinople so persistently object to Klim? Why was there apparently no earlier attempt at reconciliation, and why was Rostislav's eventual offer refused?

It is often assumed that a major point of contention must have been Klim's nationality.[110] Klim was not merely elected *by* the bishops of Rus′; he was also himself a native of Rus′. Metropolitans of the see of *Rhōsia* were normally Greeks. The only known exceptions are Ilarion and Klim.[111] The Greek metropolitans—it is argued—were representatives of Constantinople as well as appointees. Constantinople therefore needed to reassert not only its authority in matters of procedure, but also the Greek physical presence at the head of the Kievan Church. Slav national aspirations had to be suppressed.

Unfortunately, no participant in the controversies is ever reported—in the reasonably trustworthy sources—as having raised the issue of Klim's nationality either in his favor or to his detriment. Of course they could hardly have done so openly, since canon law could certainly never be invoked to support in principle any ethnic preference. Naturally we cannot assume that all Byzantines and all Kievans were utterly indifferent to Klim's ethnic origins, that there was never any national or ethnic preference or prejudice fueling the argument. But neither can we reduce the argument to the national question and assume that it was a matter of Greeks versus Slavs or of Byzantium versus Rus′. A closer examination of the controversies reveals a more intricate set of alignments.

The pattern of Klim's career is dictated not by patriarchal diplomacy alone but by the rivalries between the princes of the

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rejected by Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoi cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:313–15, and by Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 122–24.

110 E.g., Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 3:15–16, and, with varying degrees of directness, most subsequent historians of the subject, who treat the issue of Klim's nationality as implicit in the issue of patriarchial authority. Priselkov, *Očerki*, 375–76, tries to show that Klim was opposed by four bishops, all of them Greeks, whereas only one Greek bishop supported him (cf. also Čubatyj, *Istorija*, 1:471–76). In fact, however, only one of Klim's named opponents (Manuel of Smolensk) is definitely known to have been a Greek.

111 Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow," 72–74, follows Tatiščev in suggesting that this may not have been the case, that there may have been several other native metropolitans.

Rjurikid dynasty. His election was sponsored by Izjaslav M′stislavič of Kiev. When Kiev was taken in 1149 by Jurij Dolgorukij of Suzdal′, Klim was forced to flee with his patron Izjaslav to Volodymyr (in Volhynia).[112] We find him again in Kiev after Izjaslav retakes the city from Jurij for the second time in 1151.[113] He was ousted after the death of Izjaslav, when Kiev was once more under the control of Jurij. After Jurij's death, in 1158/59, M′stislav Izjaslavič and Rostislav M′stislavič bargain over Klim's status.[114] Whatever may have been Klim's qualities as a spiritual leader and whatever the legal niceties of his election, in effect he was a political appointee, to be installed and removed according to the fluctuations in the domestic power struggle, utterly dependent on secular patronage.

Even when safely performing his duties in Kiev, Klim was deeply involved in public and political events. In 1147 Izjaslav, away on campaigns, sent messages to Kiev, specifically to three people: to his brother and deputy Volodimer, to the military commander Lazor′, and to the metropolitan Klim. They were to summon the citizens to gather outside St. Sophia, where Izjaslav's envoys would proclaim the perfidy of the princes of Černihiv. The outraged Kievans, rather than march on Černihiv as Izjaslav requested, decided instead to attack a more accessible enemy: Prince Igor′ Ol′govič. Igor′ (son of Oleg Svjatoslavič, son of Svjatoslav Jaroslavič, who had been given Černihiv as his patrimony in the Testament of his father Jaroslav the Wise) had briefly been prince of Kiev in the summer of 1146. His older brother Vsevolod had ruled Kiev for the previous seven years and had designated Igor′ as his successor. When Izjaslav M′stislavič seized power, he had Igor′ imprisoned in the Vydubyči monastery. Now he became the target for the citizens of Kiev. According to the reports, Klim urged restraint but was ignored. Igor′ was lynched. Klim tried to ensure that at least he received a decent burial.[115]

The relevant point in this story is not that Klim gets a "favorable press," but that Prince Izjaslav takes it for granted that the political

112 *PSRL* 2:383.

113 Ibid., 441.

114 Ibid., 503.

115 *PSRL* 1:316–18; cf. *PSRL* 2:347–48. For a comparison of the versions of this story, see, D. S. Lixačev, *Russkie letopisi i ix kul′turno-istoričeskoe značenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), 219–25.

stance of his metropolitan will be public and partisan.

In fairly crude terms, the warring princes in the mid-twelfth century pursued two contrasting aims: on the one hand supremacy, and on the other hand autonomy. The struggle for supremacy was the struggle for control of Kiev. The struggle for autonomy was expressed in conflict *with* Kiev. Since, in the ideal world, the structure of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was parallel to the structure of the secular hierarchy, so in either case control of the metropolitanate became an important matter of policy. Just as the prince, in practice if not in theory, could help to legitimize the metropolitan, so the metropolitan could help to legitimize the prince.

The legitimacy of princely rule in Kiev was an issue of reasonable dispute. Izjaslav could claim to rule Kiev as if by primogeniture, as the oldest living son of the oldest son of Volodimer Monomax. Jurij Dolgorukij, as the youngest son of Monomax, was senior by generation and had a claim to Kiev not by primogeniture but by "lateral succession," or the "ladder system" (where rule passes from older brother to younger brother before being inherited by the next generation). Both types of claim had precedents, and, according to circumstances, both could be acceptable.[116] Thus in 1159, in a precisely analogous situation, Izjaslav's son M′stislav invited his uncle (Izjaslav's younger brother) Rostislav to rule in Kiev. The family relationship between M′stislav and Rostislav was exactly the same as that between Izjaslav and Jurij. M′stislav acknowledged a right of succession for Rostislav; Izjaslav did not acknowledge a right of succession for Jurij. In these conflicts we should not look for consistency, nor should we impose a fixed notion of who "in fact" had what rights.

Both Rostislav and Jurij, to varying degrees, had trouble with Klim.

Kinship was complicated by geography. In principle each branch of the Rjurikid princes had its regional patrimony, while Kiev—the patrimony of none—was the seat of the senior prince in the

[116] On the principles of seniority and patrimony, see A. E. Presnjakov, *Knjažoe pravo v drevnej Rusi. Očerki po istorii X–XII stoletij* (1909; repr. The Hague and Paris, 1966), 1–157. On the status of Kiev, see also M. Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Iaroslav 'The Wise': A Re-examination," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29 (1987): 369–86. For Rjurikid genealogies, see below, Appendix IV.

dynasty. In practice the special status of Kiev, in relation to the regional principalities, became increasingly hard to perceive and sustain. During the twelfth century the economic and political balance of power was shifting, with the growing prosperity of Suzdalia, Novgorod, Smolensk, and Halyč;[117] hence the tensions between, on the one hand, the struggle for Kiev as the senior principality and, on the other hand, the assertion of regional autonomy. The problem for the Church was that it recognized no such tension. There was one metropolitanate (an absurdly large metropolitanate by normal Byzantine standards) for the whole of *Rhōsia*, based in Kiev. The hierarchical relationship of the metropolitan to the regional bishoprics reflected political relationships of an earlier age. The ecclesiastical structure was an increasingly less perfect match for the political structure. In these circumstances an ambitious prince had two options: either control the metropolitanate (equivalent in political terms to controlling Kiev) or change the ecclesiastical structure. Klim was both the beneficiary and the victim of a series of attempts to pursue the first option. His successors had to cope with Jurij's own son, Andrej Bogoljubskij, who tried the second option.

In the familial conflicts Klim was the candidate of the M′stislaviči (eventually accepted even by Rostislav). In the regional conflicts he was the candidate of Kiev. Considered in this light, the synod of 1147 was rigged. The Hypatian Chronicle names seven participants, but by 1147 there were not seven bishoprics but ten.[118] Klim's candidacy was supported by the bishops whose towns were set in a tight ring around Kiev: the bishops of Bilhorod, Jurijiv, Perejaslav, and Černihiv. Of the more distant bishops Klim's only supporter was the bishop of Volodymyr (in Volhynia). The bishops of Smolensk and Novgorod were vocal opponents. Jakim of Turov had been removed from his bishopric by Izjaslav himself in the previous

[117] See *Drevnerusskie knjažestva X–XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. Beskrovnyj et al. (Moscow, 1975); P. P. Toločko, *Drevnjaja Rus′* (Kiev, 1987), 117–42; for a brief tour around the principalities, see also J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia* (London, 1983), 2–21.

[118] Bilhorod, Novgorod, Černihiv, Polock (Polack), Perejaslav, Jurijiv, Rostov, Volodymyr (in Volhynia), Turov (Turaŭ), Smolensk. See A. Poppe, "L'Organization diocésaine de la Russie aux XIe–XIIIe siècles," in his *The Rise of Christian Russia*, no. VIII:165–217. The see of Halyč was founded in 1147–1153.

year.[119] The bishops of Polock and Rostov are conspicuously absent.[120] Klim was therefore *not* elected by all the bishops of the metropolitanate of *Rhōsia*, which covered all the territories of the Rjurikids. He was elected entirely because of the "bloc vote" of the bishops of Rus′ in the narrower (and, in the mid-twelfth century, more common) meaning: the cluster of lands around Kiev. As the Novgorod Chronicle notes sardonically: "Izjaslav had appointed Klim with the bishops of the Rus′ region [or eparchy] (*oblast′*)."[121]

Izjaslav manipulated the system. He found a legal loophole which enabled him to bypass the traditional procedure for appointment, and he rigged the synod to obtain a respectable majority. The result was that he installed a local candidate to head the pan-Rjurikid hierarchy. It is not suprising that the appointment was resented.

But the web of alliances and counteralliances is still more intricate. Rjurikid rivalries, whether familial or regional, were not self-contained and cannot be viewed in a purely domestic context. If the struggle for supremacy meant that rival princes went to war for possession of Kiev, then the sense of autonomy meant that each principality conducted its own foreign policy. The regional disputes among the Rjurikids were part of a wider network of international relations, part of an international system.

In the mid-twelfth century the pattern of alliances and hostilities shows all the symptoms of what we can call the "multiple sandwich

119 See below, p. lxxix.

120 The various accounts of the synod are not easy to reconcile in detail. The Hypatian Chronicle (*PSRL* 2:340–41) names seven bishops. The Laurentian Chronicle (*PSRL* 1:315) states that Izjaslav acted "with six bishops." The much later Life of Nifont adds the names of Jakim of Turov and Koz′ma of Polock (see Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 3:12). Priselkov, *Očerki*, 375–76, following Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 65–66, suggests that Nifont and Manuel were not present at the synod, but sent their opinions in written form, whereas Jakim of Turov (who had been brought to Kiev by Izjaslav in the previous year) *did* participate. This would bring the number of participants to six and thus harmonize the reports of the chronicles. For a slightly different attempt to harmonize the numbers, see (Metropolitan) Evgenij, *Tvorenija svjatogo otca našego Kirilla, episkopa Turovskogo, s predvaritel′nym očerkom istorii Turova i turovskoj ierarxii do XIII veka* (Kiev, 1880), LI n. 1. Such questions cannot be conclusively resolved, nor does the solution materially affect the overall picture of events. It is probably safest to stick with the Hypatian Chronicle, as the most detailed and reliable single source.

121 *NPL*, 28.

syndrome." The "multiple sandwich syndrome" is an arrangement of relationships in which each polity is in conflict with its own neighbors and in alliance with its neighbors' neighbors. In a street of houses numbered consecutively this would mean that the occupants of nos. 1, 3, and 5 were allied in their hostility towards the occupants of nos. 2, 4, and 6. In the twelfth century we find just such a series of polities ranged in a line running approximately from the southwest to the northeast: Byzantium, Hungary, Halyč, Kiev, Suzdalia.

Manuel I Comnenus, emperor of Byzantium, was involved in a long and occasionally bloody dispute with Géza II of Hungary. Géza's neighbor, Volodimerko of Halyč, was ally and, according to a Byzantine source, *hypospondos* (vassal?) of Manuel. Izjaslav of Kiev was Géza's son-in-law and used Géza's military aid to keep himself in power. Naturally this brought Izjaslav into conflict with Byzantium, and this in turn helped Jurij Dolgorukij of Suzdal′ to invoke Byzantine (patriarchal) support in his own quarrel with Kiev.[122]

This set of international alliances and hostilities enables one to view the issue of Klim's legitimacy in a different perspective. Izjaslav's decision to flout Byzantine authority may have reflected a dispute over canon law; it may also have been a temporary expedient while the patriarchate was in disarray; it may also have been an attempt to outflank his fellow Rjurikids. In addition, however, it was entirely consistent with Izjaslav's foreign policy. Izjaslav was not forced to irritate Byzantium in order to secure Klim's election: he arranged for Klim's election in order to diminsh Byzantine authority—not in the name of pan-Rjurikid autonomy, but to protect himself against Byzantine collusion with Suzdal′.

What was the significance of the "Klim affair" for the Kievan Church? It exposed for the first time the growing incongruity between the ecclesiastical and the political structures of power in the Rjurikid lands. The Church treated all the Rjurikid lands as a single

[122] John Cinnamus, *Historiae*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn, 1836), 115:19 (bk. 3, § 11); C. M. Brand, trans., *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York, 1976), 92. For surveys, see Priselkov, *Očerki*, 372–75; E. Frances, "Les Relations russo-byzantines au XIIe siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *BS* 20 (1959): 50–62; O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzantinische Beiträge*, 333–57; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204: A Political History* (London, 1984), 173–78; Ju. A. Limonov, *Vladimiro-suzdal′skaja Rus′* (Leningrad, 1987), 27–37.

ecclesiastical province with Kiev as the focus of hierarchical authority. This corresponded to a political ideal which had not been abandoned even among the regional princes, but which increasingly failed to match the facts of regional power and regional aspirations. The metropolitans of Kiev had always been closely associated with the princes of Kiev but not visibly dependent on them or subordinate to them. By breaking with tradition, by dispensing with patriarchal approval, by securing the appointment of a candidate whom he knew to be unacceptable to his regional kinsmen, Izjaslav turned the metropolitan into a client of the prince. He may have wished thereby to extend his authority, through the Church, to those regions where Kievan princely power alone could not reach. But the effect was the opposite: he reduced the authority of the metropolitan down to the limits of his own regional power.

Izjaslav's experiment failed, but the dilemma which had caused the "Klim affair" was not thereby resolved. The other "logical" solution was to split the metropolitanate, to replace the pan-Rjurikid see of *Rhōsia* with regional hierarchies, to modify the structure of ecclesiastical authority so that it more closely matched the structure of secular authority. This was proposed, some twenty years after the 1147 synod, by Andrej Bogoljubskij, who requested a separate metropolitan for the northeast. The proposal might have looked reasonable. After all, no other Orthodox metropolitanate was so vast and so cumbersome, so politically diverse, as the see of *Rhōsia*. And there was precedent: for a number of years in the second half of the eleventh century there appear to have been separate titular metropolitans of Černihiv and of Perejaslav.[123] Yet the patriarch Luke Chrysoberges rejected Andrej's proposal just as firmly as the patriarch Nicholas Mouzalon had rejected Izjaslav's appointment of Klim. Unlike Izjaslav, Andrej Bogoljubskij accepted the patriarch's decision.[124]

The "Klim affair," and the subsequent actions of Andrej Bogoljubskij, tested a principle: not so much the principle of

[123] A. Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii konstantinopol′skoj ierarxii v XI stoletii," *VV* 28 (1968): 97–108.

[124] On this episode, see Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 128–58; N. N. Voronin, "Andrej Bogoljubskij i Luka Xrisoverg: iz istorii russko-vizantijskix otnošenij XII v.," *VV* 21 (1962): 29–50; W. Vodoff, "Un 'partie théocratique' dans la Russie du XIIe siècle?" *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 17 (1974): 193–215; and E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence, 1980), 23–36.

Constantinopolitan authority, but the principle of the unity of the Rjurikid Church. This unity could in practice only be maintained *by* Constantinopolitan authority, since—as was revealed in both these controversies—ecclesiastical autonomy led to ecclesiastical regionalization (*de facto* in the case of Klim, *de jure* in the proposal of Andrej). The Church therefore kept alive, for better or for worse, an idea and ideal which bore an ever fainter resemblance to the actualities of politics: the idea of "all Rus′" which included all the principalities in the shared patrimony of the descendants of the legendary Rjurik the Varangian. Years before, in the "Golden Age" of Ilarion and Jaroslav, this idea had been almost too obvious to be worth mentioning. Now, when it was almost too remote to be worth trying to restore in practice, the idea was for the first time officially articulated. Before the "Klim affair" the incumbents at St. Sophia had been designated metropolitans of *Rhōsia*. Now, from the mid-1160s, probably from the metropolitan Constantine II (1167–ca. 1170), they became formally designated metropolitans of *ALL Rhōsia* (in Greek *pasēs Rhōsias*; in Slavonic *vsea Rusi*).[125]

In one sense, therefore, the eventual result of the "Klim affair" and its aftermath was the introduction of a new term, a new title to be inscribed on the seals of the metropolitans. But in the future history of the Rjurikid patrimony and of the Church which served it, a very great deal was to hang on that term.

2. KLIM SMOLJATIČ AND INTELLECTUAL CONTROVERSY

In view of his career, it seems fitting that Klim's only substantial extant work should be a trenchantly polemical letter mixing personal abuse with public debate. His *Epistle* was written to Foma (Thomas) the Presbyter, who had allegedly accused Klim of professing "philosophy," of writing to win personal acclaim, and of neglecting the Scriptures in favor of Homer, Aristotle, and Plato. In a Kievan context these are extraordinary charges.

Klim's quarrel with Foma is not a private affair between fellow bookmen. The *Epistle* is one fragment of a public epistolary disputation conducted at court for the delectation and edification of princes.

125 See V. L. Janin, *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi X–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1970), 1:49–52, 175–76.

Klim's letter is a response to a letter of accusation from Foma, which Klim "read in the presence of many witnesses, and of Prince Izjaslav [M′stislavič]" (§2). The debate probably took place after Izjaslav became prince of Kiev (1146), most likely during Klim's tenure as metropolitan. But Foma's letter was itself not unprovoked. It seems that Klim himself had already written of Foma disparagingly (§4). We cannot tell how many stages of charge and countercharge there were, nor can we know how the dispute was concluded, or what was the impact of the surviving *Epistle* on its audience and recipient. The *Epistle* is but one overheard speech of one participant in a continuing dialogue.

The dialogue was public. Klim read Foma's letter in the presence of Prince Izjaslav. He also reveals that, apart from this correspondence, he had written separately for "the prince" (§3) and for Foma's prince, whom he calls his own "lord" (§43). Klim's main patron was Izjaslav, so perhaps Foma's prince is also Izjaslav. However, in one manuscript Foma is said to be from Smolensk, so that Foma's prince would be Izjaslav's brother Rostislav, with whom—as we have seen—Klim's relations were not always harmonious. Possibly, therefore, Klim's epistolary argumentation spans the courts of two principalities.

Klim's contemporaries agreed that he was a "philosopher," but the label was ambiguous. In the Hypatian Chronicle he is praised for it, Foma criticizes him for it. For mid-twelfth-century Kievans the word did not mean the same as it means in the modern world. It was an imported term, not often used by native writers, though common in translations from Greek. It had several meanings, including: learned holy man; ascetic; policy adviser to the Byzantine emperor; sage of antiquity; teacher at the patriarchal school in Constantinople.[126] One thing was certain: "philosophers" were foreign. Klim is the first native of Kievan Rus′ to be called a philosopher, whether as a mark of respect (in the chronicle) or of rebuke (by Foma).

[126] On the uses of the term in Byzantine writing, see F. Dölger, "Zur Bedeutung von 'φιλόσοφος' und 'φιλοσοφία' in byzantinischer Zeit," in his *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), 197–208; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), 1:4–10. For flexibility in Kievan usage, see, e.g., Kirill of Turov, IVh: § 8, where the phrase "philosophers and bookmen," used positively of Klim in the Hypatian Chronicle, is used negatively of the henchmen of the heretic Arius.

It has been suggested that the label of "philosopher" implies that Klim had received a Constantinopolitan education.[127] This is unlikely. Of course there is no reason to exclude the possibility that some Kievans did travel to Constantinople to study, but the terms of the argument in Klim's *Epistle* indicate that Klim was not such a man. In his response to Foma, Klim *rejects* the notion that he is a philosopher. This rejection would be strange if Klim could rightfully have taken refuge behind a purely technical sense of the word.

Such biographical speculation is in any case unnecessary, since Klim himself tells us exactly what, in Foma's usage (though presumably not in that of the chronicle), the charge of "philosophy" was meant to imply. Klim is accused of using writers from classical antiquity in preference to Scripture.

The charge is serious, and unique in Kievan Rus′. No other Kievan is either accused or praised for turning to the classics. Indeed there is no serious evidence to show that any Kievan writer had any firsthand knowledge of the classics. Kievan impressions of antiquity came almost entirely from a few narratives in translated chronicles of world history, some polemical passages in translated theological tracts, occasional mythologies, and fragmentary quotations in translated collections of wise utterances.[128] *If* Foma's charge is justified, then Klim's crime, or achievement, is crucially important to our assessment of Kievan culture as a vital part of a long-running debate as to whether any Kievans did or did not have direct access to classical tradition: whether Kievan Rus′, through its conversion to Byzantine Christianity, became a co-inheritor of Byzantium's Graeco-Roman culture; or whether Kievan Rus′ was isolated by language, the recipient only of the ecclesiastical component of that culture which was available in Slavonic translation.

Foma's charges cannot be dismissed merely because they are unique. The arguments on both sides must be considered. What grounds are there for suspecting that he might be right?

[127] See E. E. Granstrem, "Počemu mitropolita Klima Smoljatiča nazyvali 'filosofom'?" *TODRL* 25 (1970): 20–28.

[128] See Franklin, "The Empire of the *Rhomaioi*," esp. 519–28; D. M. Bulanin, "Antičnye tradicii v drevnerusskoj literature XI–XVI vv." (Avtoreferat dok. diss., Leningrad, 1989), esp. 3–16.

In the first place, the accusation is unlikely to be arbitrary, plucked out of the air, with no relation to anything which Klim actually did or said. If Klim *never* referred to classical themes, then there would be no point in accusing him of doing so in what was, as we recall, a public exchange of letters. Whether or not the charge was true in all its implications, it would at least have had to be plausible. Otherwise it is hard to see why it should have been given such prominence, why it was deemed worthy of a lengthy refutation.

Secondly, Klim's denial of the charge is oddly equivocal. Although in his opening remarks he simply dismisses the accusation as false, nevertheless he then seems to give ground: he *may* have written of the classics, but this was not for Foma but for the prince. Here is perhaps a glimpse of cultural etiquette, a hint of a court culture distinct from ecclesiastical culture. But here also is an apparent concession by Klim: Foma only mistakes the context, not the substance.

Thirdly, even in the *Epistle* Klim does discuss classical mythologies, betraying—one might think—both his knowledge of them and his willingness to devote himself to their elucidation. His own defence produces the evidence to convict him.

Finally, Klim appears to indicate specifically that he, and Foma, and Foma's teacher Grigorij, and presumably others of their station, did share a knowledge of Greek. He concedes that Grigorij and Foma "know alpha and beta and all the four and twenty letters of the alphabet" (§53). Alpha and beta are Greek letters. There are twenty-four letters in the Greek alphabet but well over thirty in most versions of Slavonic known from Rus′. Surely Klim must be referring to the study of Greek. And if Greek was studied, then the classics could be read; and if the classics could be read, they could be cited, to the detriment of Scripture, and Klim could be guilty as charged.

Such is the case for the prosecution. What of the defense?

In the first place, the terms of Foma's accusation are suspiciously fashionable: fashionable not in Kievan Rus′, but in Byzantium. The study of ancient authors and of their rhetoric was a standard component in the higher education of the Byzantine intellectual elite. Sophisticated Byzantine literature was written in an artificial and deliberately anachronistic form of Greek, imitative of the ancients. From time to time, however, this civilized imitation could be seen by some as overzealous, and "philosophers" were charged, like Klim, with preferring antiquity to Scripture. There were public accusations,

specially convened synods, show trials. Periodic acrimony towards "philosophers" was a feature of Byzantine intellectual life in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[129] Indeed, there were such debates in Constantinople in the late 1140s. Can it be entirely fortuitous that Foma produced equivalent charges against Klim at the same time? Foma's negative use of the word "philosophy" may simply be in rather vague imitation of a distant but prestigious fashion in the terminology of intellectual abuse, a terminology picked up at third hand, insubstantial and not to be taken literally in provincial Kiev.[130]

Secondly, in the *Epistle* Klim appears in fact to *share* Foma's negative estimation of this kind of "philosophy." In Constantinople the standard defense to the charge of philosophizing was to challenge the values of the accuser, to insist that it was right and proper to study and use the classics, and thus to follow the unimpeachable example of the fathers of the Church. Klim repudiates the alleged facts, but not the values. He mocks Foma's ignorance and intellectual obtuseness, but otherwise he backs away. Instead of defending philosophy he argues implicitly that it would have been wrong to have philosophized, and he insists that his own activities can *not* properly be construed as philosophy.

Thirdly, even if the passage on alphas and betas does refer to Greek, then it probably implies no more than a set of basic grammatical and lexical exercises (vocabularies for each letter of the alphabet).[131] Naturally, there were Kievans who had to acquire at least

[129] See R. Browning, "Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Past and Present* 69 (1975): 3–23; J. Gouillard, "La Religion des philosophes," *Travaux et mémoires* 6 (1976): 305–24; L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Munich, 1981).

[130] See S. Franklin, "Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture in Twelfth-Century Russia?" in *Byzantium and Europe*, ed. A. Markopoulos (Athens, 1987), esp. 182–86. Čubatyj, *Istorija*, 1:467, surmises that Foma was incited to produce the compromising allegation by Manuel, the Greek bishop of Smolensk.

[131] See E. E. Golubinskij, "Vopros o zaimstvovanii domongol'skimi russkimi ot grekov tak nazyvaemoj sxedografii, predstavljajuščej u poslednix vysšij kurs gramotnosti," *IORJaS* 9, no. 2 (1904): 49–59. Note that Golubinskij asserts (without evidence) that these must have been *Slavonic* exercises, arranged in twenty-four letters after the Greek model. On the exercises of "schedography" and (perhaps more appropriately) *epimerismoi*, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 2:22–29.

some knowledge of the medieval Greek spoken by the Byzantines and used by diplomats and by churchmen (including most of the metropolitans and many of the bishops of Rus′) and in some forms of writing. But the language of Homer and Aristotle required protracted additional study, and there is no evidence for such "higher" knowledge and education either in the *Epistle* or in any other Kievan source.[132]

Finally, a point which tends to be overlooked. We do not in fact have to guess at what Klim *might have* written in his allegedly philosophical disquisitions "to the prince." He tells us explicitly, and he gives examples. After his somewhat snide introduction and his samples of exegesis based on passages from the Old Testament, Klim announces: "Here I recollect that which I wrote to your prince" (§43). And henceforward he does indeed turn away from the elucidation of Biblical texts, and he concentrates mainly (but not exclusively) on decoding strange riddles strewn with allusions to Poseidon, Demeter, Athens, the "Hellenic writings concerning Alexander," the "Parthenian billows"; with mythical creatures like the halcyon, the griffin, the salamander of Probana; with mysterious untranslated words like *diktator*. At the same time, Klim's own interjections change focus. Hitherto he had interrupted his exegesis mainly to refute the charge of vaingloriousness; now (§45) he argues that his discussion of such material does not constitute "philosophy."

And Klim is right. These quasi-classical riddles do not reflect an independent reading of ancient texts, whether in their original language or in Slavonic translation; nor do they reflect an abandonment of the Scriptures. They, like all the interpretative passages in the *Epistle*, are not even composed by Klim. They are simply copied verbatim from translated collections of theological exegesis. They are intended not to divert the audience into the distant pagan past, but to elucidate obscure images in liturgical poetry and to demonstrate the wondrous coherence of divine creation. And they have an utterly respectable Orthodox provenance.

Klim's defense against the charge of philosophizing looks secure, albeit in his own presentation. Such is the way with many medieval polemics: we have only the words of the winners.

132 Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:871–80, convincingly shows that Tatiščev's accounts of institutionalized neoclassical learning are fictitious.

The other charge—of writing in pursuit of "glory"—is still more difficult to assess. Klim's life shows that he was a tough controversialist, a public figure, a man with enemies. The extent to which he was also a glory seeker is probably a matter of perspective. We cannot know the intricacies of his own motivation, nor can we know what particular deeds proved so provocatively offensive to Foma. Nevertheless, in this the *Epistle* also raises broader issues. Just as the debate about "philosophy" is important evidence for the *nature* of learning in Kievan Rus′, so the argument about vaingloriousness is important evidence for *attitudes* to learning.

Intellectual controversy in Kievan Rus′ is exceedingly rare (or rarely mentioned in extant sources). Klim's *Epistle* is the only surviving document by a participant in an intellectual controversy. This does not mean that bookmen never argued with each other, but the *Epistle* reveals more than just animated discussion. Foma is apparently suspicious of Klim's whole endeavor rather than of any particular point of theology, suspicious of the bookman's motives, suspicious almost of learning itself. In effect, he accuses Klim of a kind of intellectual careerism. Such suspicion, unthinkable in the triumphantly optimistic, celebratory world of Ilarion, does surface occasionally in the twelfth century, when Christianity had ceased to be quite so new, when book learning had become more secure, more widespread, more diversified, perhaps more smug. Moreover, the context for suspicion is always the same; it arises when bookmen display their learning for the delectation of a prestigious secular audience, for the prince and his entourage.[133] Klim's *Epistle* provides a possible hint of a new kind of cultural tension between court and cloister.

3. KLIM'S *EPISTLE* AND TRADITIONS OF EXEGESIS

For the modern reader Klim's *Epistle* is difficult. Part of the difficulty is intrinsic, to do with the nature of his argument: the work is, in a sense, a defense of obscurity, so that simplicity, clarity, and accessibility are not among its prominent virtues. Part of the difficulty is external, arising from the history of the text and its manuscripts: there is no critical edition. The surviving versions have been badly

133 See S. Franklin, "Booklearning and Bookmen in Kievan Rus': A Survey of an Idea," in *Proceedings*, 830–48.

distorted by careless transpositions, rather as if a scribe dropped the pages and recopied them in the order in which they chanced to fall, regardless of logic and sometimes regardless of grammar. There may also be interpolations. The proper procedure should be first to establish a text and only then to consider the argument. However, the present survey is thematic, and I have treated the textual questions separately in an appendix.[134]

(a) *The Argument*

Klim's *Epistle* can be divided into two unequal sections. Section 1 (§§ 1–6) consists of Klim's direct response to Foma, written mainly in his own words. In section 2 (§§ 7–84) Klim defends himself not by debate but by example, producing a series of specimens of erudition almost entirely copied from the works of others, a collage of borrowed exegeses with only the occasional intrusion from Klim. Section 2 itself falls into two parts: 2a (§§ 7–42), dealing mainly with passages from the Old Testament; and 2b (§§ 43–84), dealing mainly with the elucidation of riddles and metaphors.

In section 1, after some sniping about vaingloriousness and philosophy, Klim begins his positive justification of his uses of learning. He does indeed believe that it is inadequate simply to read the Scriptures. To this extent Foma is right. But Foma misses the crucial point: Klim's departures from Scripture are—in Klim's view—undertaken not for the sake of mere curiosity or diversion or display, but in order to clarify Scripture itself, to reveal its full meaning. To this end Klim insists that one must investigate the Scriptures *in detail* (*potonku*). In section 2 Klim provides examples of such detailed investigation. Section 1, therefore, is a rudimentary statement of principle, while section 2 demonstrates the practice.

At first sight this practical demonstration looks very unbalanced: a vast disquisition on Judah's dubious relationship with his daughter-in-law Tamar and on her twin sons Phares and Zara; genealogies of Christ, which are presented as if canonical, but which are in fact partly

[134] See below, Appendix I. I have not included here any detailed consideration of other works associated with Klim: the *Canonical Responses* recorded by Kirik of Novgorod (see above, n. 93); a dubious sermon, published in Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 211–23; a spurious homily, unmasked by id., *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis′mennosti* (St. Petersburg, 1907) (= *SbORJaS* 82), 65–73.

apocryphal;[135] paragraphs on the temptation of Eve, on Jacob's marriages, on Jacob's wrestling bout with God; a rapid list of Christ's miracles; some observations on the dietary prescriptions in Leviticus; comments on the properties of fire; and the elucidation of cryptic phrases about the griffin, the salamander, the halcyon, Demeter and Poseidon, and the Parthenian billows, with interpretations mainly relating to the stories of Jonah, of Daniel in the lions' den, of the Three Youths in Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace, and of the adventures of the young Gregory of Nazianzus!

As a piece of writing, the *Epistle* is strikingly uneven. The illustrative interpretations vary in length from a few phrases to several pages, they are on widely differing topics, and Klim makes no serious attempt to establish any thematic links between them. Even if we tidy up the text to repair the damage inflicted by clumsy scribes and editors,[136] still there is no sense of a controlled logic, of an argument developing stage by stage. And to make things worse, Klim seems utterly indifferent to the aesthetics of style. Judged as "literature" the *Epistle* has few virtues: none of the exuberant but meticulous stylishness of Ilarion, none of the rhetorical compulsiveness of Kirill of Turov. This is not Klim's incompetence but his choice. Klim does not *try* to achieve an equivalent level of logical or stylistic cohesiveness because his purposes are different. He is not attempting to elaborate an argument or to celebrate a festival. His aim is to illustrate a method, a way of understanding. For him the validity of the method is proved by cumulative example: not in the overwhelming persuasiveness of a single specimen, but in the range and variety of its uses. The argument as a whole *is* the sum of its parts. Despite the fragmentation of style and logic, the *Epistle* does have its own kind of coherence, a coherence of intellectual approach.

The "investigation in detail" seems to mean two things. On one level it is an insistence on close reading of the "facts," which may reveal patterns not visible in a cursory or literal reading of the words. For example, a "source analysis" of the tale of Tamar's apparent incest with Judah shows Klim that no impropriety in fact took place. On another level the "investigation in detail" is designed to reach meanings hidden *behind* the facts. Each detail of the sacred writings

[135] See below, Appendix II.

[136] See below, Appendix I.

is significant beyond its own immediate context, signifies something outside itself, has to be interpreted not just factually but also allegorically or metaphorically.[137] Hence Tamar's two sons, Phares and Zara, are not only important as distant forebears of Christ; they also signify Law and Grace, and the scarlet thread bound on Zara's hand signifies the blood of sacrifice.

This form of argument is familiar from Ilarion, from Kirill of Turov, from countless other writers throughout the medieval Christian world. In itself it can scarcely have provoked Foma to anger, unless he was irritated by the uncompromising detail of it all, by the dogged obscurity of Klim's pursuit of clarity. Foma's main objection was to the extension of this interpretative model in section 2b—the section in which Klim recalls what he had written for the prince. In section 2b there is a change both of topic and of presentation. Klim's examples in section 2a had started with Biblical fact and proceeded from the facts into allegory. In section 2b the order is reversed: the examples begin with cryptic non-Biblical utterances and proceed back from there to reveal the underlying allusion to Biblical facts.

The riddles normally take the form of a negative assertion: "it was not X that did Y," where both the subject X and the action Y (which X did not perform) are ostentatiously obscure. Thus it was *not* Alexander's griffin which brought a prophet from an Egyptian harvest to feed a prophet: an angel carried Habbakuk to feed Daniel in the lions' den. This might have seemed to Foma a rather trivial way of expending exegetic energy, a lightweight game whose players do come dangerously close to abandoning Scripture, close to enjoying linguistic obscurities and intellectual conundrums for their own sake. Foma has the sympathy of at least one modern scholar, who dismisses Klim's examples as "curiousities which could only tickle the vanity of a few snobbish literateurs."[138] In his defence Klim can claim three forms of justification. First, all of his specimen arguments serve eventually to demonstrate the wondrous coherence of Creation and the glory of God; they do lead back to the Bible. Secondly, this type of

[137] *prěvodně* (= Gk. *metaphorikōs*): see §46–47 of the *Epistle*, and nn. 102, 104, 112 thereto; also E. E. Granstrem and L. S. Kovtun, "Poètičeskie terminy v Izbornike 1073 g. i ix razvitie v russkoj tradicii (analiz traktata Georgija Xirovoska)," in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1973), esp. 103–4.
[138] Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:65.

exegesis is also hallowed by patristic tradition (from which Klim had copied it). And thirdly, the riddles are not plucked at random for their charm or for their appeal to snobbish taste: several of them are based on metaphors common in liturgical poetry, based on words which were actually intoned in church and which were genuinely difficult to understand.[139] The elucidation of such metaphors may lead one into the ethically dubious realm of mythology, but there was a sensible and practical reason for the endeavor.

The themes on the surface of Klim's illustrative arguments are, as we saw, diverse. He did not need narrative continuity in order to make his point. However, there are relatively consistent themes lurking below the surface of the variegated narrative. For example, most of the interpretative examples lead to questions concerning the idea of purity, especially purity of the flesh. The huge excursus on Tamar, and the genealogy of Christ, prove that at his birth Christ was not tainted by the sins of his ancestors. The explication of dietary laws (§§ 37–41) is obviously about questions of purity. The riddle of the salamander signifies the fiery furnace which did not consume the Three Youths, just as fire had not consumed the burning bush seen by Moses—itself a prefiguration of the virgin womb neither breached nor consumed by the divine presence within it (§ 62–64). There is a special digression on the purifying properties of fire (§§ 20, 72). There is the purity of the "house of wisdom," which (as is shown in Klim's very first example, § 8) is the Lord's humanity, when he came to dwell in the flesh. Accused of *philosophia*, Klim expatiates on the wonders of *sophia:* an apt topic for a metropolitan of Kiev.

(b) *The Sources*

Very little of Klim's *Epistle* was originally written by Klim himself. His detailed examples of exegesis are not products of his own analytical inventiveness. They are copied, usually word for word, from the works of others.[140]

139 See esp. canticle six of the second canon for the feast of the Theophany (6 Jan.) (the prophet swallowed up for three nights); and, elsewhere in the calendar, canticle six (regularly on Jonah) and canticle eight (regularly on the youths in the furnace). Cf. Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 12.

140 A. V. Voznesenskij, "K voprosu o xaraktere obraščenija drevnerusskix knižnikov s zaimstvovannym im tekstom (na primere 'Poslanija k presviteru Fome' Klimenta Smoljatiča)," in *Problemy istoričeskogo jazykoznanija,* vol. 3, *Literaturnyj jazyk*

The authors of the *primary* sources form a distinguished set of names, a miniature "Who's Who?" of early Christian and Byzantine theology: Hippolytus of Rome on Wisdom, Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and John of Damascus on the genealogies of Christ, Basil of Caesarea on the halcyon, extensive citations from Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the Pentateuch, a set of homilies attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus ("the Theologian") with commentaries by Nicetas of Heraclea, as well as long chunks of direct quotation from the Bible.[141] The list could be extended. But the list is misleading. The *primary* sources for the interpretations are not the *actual* sources used by Klim. Klim did not collate and extrapolate appropriate passages by meticulous research in a library of patristic Greek texts. In the first place, he used only passages which were already available in Slavonic translation. And secondly, he copied from intermediaries, from anthologies of preedited extracts rather than from the primary sources themselves. Nor did he even range widely among the anthologies: much of the exegetic section of the *Epistle* was probably lifted from just one compilation.

Klim's *actual* source (or sources) has not survived. However, there does exist one manuscript anthology, parts of which are clearly derived from a compendium very close to what was used by Klim. This is a thirteenth-century miscellany (*Izbornik*) now preserved in the Public Library in Leningrad.[142] *Izb.* itself is voluminous, and the segments which closely match Klim's *Epistle* represent only a small portion of the whole compendium: fols. 22–23, 137v–139, 154–167v, 175v–176. Yet these passages together cover virtually all of Klim's exegetic illustrations: §§8, 10–11, 21, 24–40, 42–44, 47, 50, 52, 54–68, 70–71, 75–80, 82–84. Klim's personal remarks to Foma comprise §§1–7, 41, 45–46, 48, 51, 53, 69, 81. That leaves only §§9, 12–19, 22–23, 49, and 72–74 "unaccounted for" either as personal comment to Foma or as direct textual parallel to *Izb.*

Drevnej Rusi (Leningrad, 1986), 81–86, makes an unpersuasive case for some "literary reworking" of the sources by Klim.

141 See Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 48–62, 137–60.

142 *The Izbornik of the XIIIth Century (Cod. Leningrad, GPB, Q. p. I. 18): Text in Transliteration*, ed. H. Wątróbska (Nijmegen, 1987) (= *PK* 19–20; henceforth *Izb.*); see also Nikol'skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 6–63, and the parallel passages in the notes to the text in his edition of the *Epistle*. See also below, p. lxxi n. 149.

Even this small group of loose segments can be reduced. *Izb.* is not an exact copy of the text which must have been used by Klim. Klim used a compendium with a rather fuller version of the relevant texts than we find in *Izb.*[143] We can see this if we examine §§22–23, sections of exegesis which have no direct parallel in *Izb.* The next paragraphs in Klim's *Epistle* (§§24–26) introduce the long interpretation of the story of Tamar. §§24–26 *are* present in *Izb.* (fols. 154v–155v), and their primary source is Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, nos. 96–97.[144] In *Izb.* these extracts (equivalent to §§24–26 of Klim's *Epistle*) are immediately preceded by an extract equivalent to §21, on Adam, Eve, and the Devil, so that the continuous text in *Izb.* reads as §§21, 24–26 of the *Epistle*. How, then, do we account for Klim's intervening paragraphs, §§22–23?

§§22–23 refer to Jacob and Leah. This appears to be a separate topic, and one might imagine that Klim inserted it from a separate source. One would be wrong, for two reasons. First, the text of *Izb.* (fol. 155 = §26) itself includes a reference to Leah, which makes little sense unless we supply the paragraphs missing in *Izb.* but present in the *Epistle*. Klim does not augment *Izb.* from another source: at this point he preserves a fuller version of the source which he *shares* with *Izb.* Secondly, §§22–23 are linked to §§24–26 in the work which lies behind the shared source of Klim and *Izb.*: the *Quaestiones in Genesim* of Theodoret. §§24–26, we recall, are derived from *Quaestiones* 96–97; §§22–23 are derived from *Quaestiones* 90 and 92.[145]

§§22–23 are not added by Klim from a different compendium. They can be added by us to the list of passages copied by Klim from a single compendium, the common source of the *Epistle* and *Izb.*

What is left? In the main exegetic section only §49 (which indubitably comes from the same source as §§47, 50, and 53, fragmented in *Izb.*, fols. 162 and 175v–176); §§20, 72–74 (on the purifying properties of fire, leading into the concluding prayer); §§9, 18–19 (strings of citations from the Psalms, with some remarks on the justice of God); and §§13–17, which contain summary comments on the stories subsequently elucidated in detail.

143 See the remarks by Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 46ff.

144 *MPG* 80.204–5.

145 *MPG* 80.197–200.

Even Klim's "own" words are subtly infected by the words of others. The opening phrases of the *Epistle* are copied from Leo I's *Epistle to Flavian*, in a translation produced in the twelfth century for the prince and monk Svjatoša of the Caves Monastery by Feodosij (Theodosius) the Greek.[146] Phrases in § 16 echo Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*.[147] And the crucial phrase in which Klim insists on the necessity of "investigating in detail" (*potonku pytati*) is in fact borrowed out of context from yet another passage in *Izb.*: a passage which Klim himself later copies, but without the relevant phrase (§ 52).[148]

Klim follows the traditions of the exegetic compendia, of the patristic and pseudopatristic anthologies. This is his genre. The *Epistle* is not a sustained theological tract, not a sermon, perhaps not principally even a letter (just as portions of the *Paterik* of the Caves Monastery, though presented in the form of a correspondence between Bishop Simon and the monk Polikarp, are not to be read primarily as a specimen of the epistolary genre). Klim's *Epistle* is a composite work: a compendium of exegesis, with a brief epistolary preface to show why it was produced. Such compendia circulated widely in Rus′, in Byzantium, throughout the Orthodox world. Some were relatively stable in their contents, others were perpetually extracted, divided, augmented, recombined. Some were labeled with the names of particular authors, like the collection of questions and answers attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, which shares passages both with Klim's *Epistle* and with *Izb.*[149] As often as not the labels are spurious. Others, like *Izb.*, are anonymous and themselves combine a mixture of anonymous and attributed passages. Increasingly the compendia became detached from the uncontaminated works of their primary sources or original compilers. Instead they borrow from each other. Thus, for example, Basil of Caesarea's excursus on the halcyon

[146] O. Bodjanskij [Bodjans′kyj], ed., "Slavjanorusskie sočinenija v pergamennom sbornike I. N. Carskogo," *Čtenija* 3, no. 7 (1848), sec. 1:ē. Feodosij gains his ethnic surname in modern scholarship rather than medieval sources, but the supposition that he *was* Greek is probably correct.

[147] See § 17 of Ilarion's *Sermon*; further on "the shadow and the truth," see above, n. 78.

[148] *Izb.*, fol. 176: "*iščа six potonku, da razumeet.*"

[149] Published in Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 161–99; compared to *Izb.* and to the *Epistle*, ibid., 6–43.

reaches Klim via the *Hexaemeron* of John the Exarch of Bulgaria, via an indeterminate number of intermediary compilations (possibly the *Paleja*), and via the source of *Izb.*[150]

4. KLIM SMOLJATIČ: FACTS, OPINIONS, AND MYTHS

I have described one Klim Smoljatič. There are others. No other writer from Kievan Rus′, with the possible exception of the anonymous author of the *Tale of Igor's Campaign*, resurfaces in so many guises, becomes so variously transfigured and disfigured in the pages of modern scholarship. No writer suffers so disproportionately as Klim from, on the one hand, a surfeit of overinterpretation and, on the other hand, a dearth of "detailed investigation." This is perhaps precisely because the text of the *Epistle* is so inaccessible. The intermediaries have the field to themselves.

One of the duties of a historian is to disagree with other historians, and the sparse and often ambiguous fragments of evidence for Kievan cultural history are necessarily and productively contentious. Most of the variant Klims are created for legitimate reasons. It is legitimate to argue over the merits and reliability of sources: whether, for example, one should trust the statements of the early eighteenth-century chronicler Tatiščev, who gives a rather fuller and clearer picture of Klim's public life than that which I have sketched on the basis of earlier chronicles.[151] It is legitimate to debate the nature and history of the text of the *Epistle*: whether, for example, the extant version is broadly equivalent to that which was originally put together by Klim, or whether it is significantly augmented by a later interpolator.[152] And one can dispute any number of individual readings. Such discussions are normal and proper in the continuing effort to extract facts, or at least reasonable hypotheses, from problematic material.

Similarly, and partly in consequence, there are differences of overall assessment, differences of opinion as to Klim's character, achievement, and importance. Depending on one's own perspective,

[150] Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 149–54. Note also that the comments on the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus by Nicetas of Heraclea were not translated into Slavonic separately and in full until the fourteenth century.

[151] See Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow."

[152] See below, Appendix I.

one can argue responsibly that Klim was an impressively forceful and eclectic intellectual,[153] or that he was a humdrum monastic copyist of ecclesiastical commonplaces;[154] a fighter for national identity, or a parochial troublemaker;[155] a supercilious snob,[156] or an earnest seeker after truth.

I have not presented all the variant Klims in detail. Interested readers can be guided towards them through the footnotes. However, one version of Klim requires particular attention: not because of its exceptional merits (it has none), but because it illustrates and encapsulates—perhaps better than any writings on Ilarion or Klim—a certain method of interpreting the sources for the cultural history of medieval Rus′. For polemical convenience, but with inevitable over-simplification, the method is often labeled "Soviet." The axiom, rather like that of Klim himself, is that the sources do not mean exactly what they appear to say, that there is a "real" meaning which can be perceived only through a special kind of "detailed investigation." The aim is both to secularize and to individualize: to show that the Christianity of Kievan writers can be a verbal disguise rather than a genuine faith, and to argue that the most prominent cultural figures of Kievan Rus′ either transcended or rejected tradition rather than embracing it. One recent study of Klim provides a peculiarly pure and vivid illustration of the method.[157]

The tone is set in the heading: "The Pantheistic Rationalism of Klim Smoljatič." The author (A. F. Zamaleev) justifies this description by asserting that: (1) in his defense of allegory Klim "contradicts Orthodox theology" as he tries to "free human thought from the opression of patristic ecclesiastical tradition";[158] (2) in his discussion of Jacob, Leah, and Rachel Klim "explains that these biblical characters

[153] E.g., P. A. Lavrovskij, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča Fome, Presviteru Smolenskomu, kak istoriko-literaturnyj pamjatnik XII veka* (Smolensk, 1894), 49–73; X. M. Loparev, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta k smolenskomu presviteru Fome. Neizdannyj pamjatnik literatury XII veka*, Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj pis′-mennosti, 90 (St. Petersburg, 1892), 4–6.

[154] E.g., Sokolov, *Russkij arxierej*, 64; Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:846–53.

[155] See above, n. 110.

[156] Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:65.

[157] Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′*, esp. 137–47.

[158] Ibid., 144, 145.

are only symbols, not real people";[159] (3) in §3 Klim himself admits "I *did* write using Homer and Plato and Aristotle";[160] (4) §84 was added by a later editor of the *Epistle* and states that Klim wrote fifteen homilies which were "rejected by Orthodoxy, condemned to oblivion" because of Klim's rationalistic views.[161]

The resultant Klim seems plausible. The only problem is that every assertion here is factually wrong. To take the points in turn: (1) every word of Klim's defense of allegory is copied *from* patristic tradition; (2) Klim accepts absolutely the historicity of the Old Testament; Jacob, Rachel, and Leah are symbolic *and* real; typological and allegorical interpretation is not a denial of historicity, but rather it shows God working *in* history; (3) every other translator of §3 gives it the opposite meaning or at least an equivocal sense;[162] (4) §84 tells us nothing at all about what Klim did or did not write, or about subsequent clerical attitudes to his work: §84 is not a later editorial comment on Klim, but merely part of a quotation from the source of *Izb.*, referring not to lost works by Klim but to the well-known set of sixteen orations ("fifteen" is Zamaleev's misreading) by Gregory of Nazianzus.[163]

Klim the Pantheistic Rationalist is neither conjecture nor hypothesis, nor (like some of the other Klims) can he be justified even as a matter of opinion. He is a myth. Where sources are sparse and obscure, myths have more freedom to flourish. In the uncertain world of Kievan history and culture, almost no broad synthesis is unequivocally acceptable, but that does not mean either that no synthesis is legitimate or (at the other extreme) that any synthesis will do. Many Klims are possible, but some are more possible than others. Not all unprovable generalizations are equal.

159 Ibid., 143.

160 Ibid., 143.

161 Ibid., 147.

162 Lavrovskij, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča*, 85; Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine works," 75; V. V. Kolesov in *PLDR. XII v.*, 283.

163 For the same misattribution, strengthened by textual distortion, see Kolesov's translation in *PLDR. XII v.*, 288–89. Kolesov prints *napisal esm′* (1st person singular, of Klim), where *Nik.* has *napisal e* with a superscript *s:* the abbreviation in fact stands for *napisal est′* (3rd person singular, of Gregory), as given in *Izb.*, whose text is printed on the same page in Nikol′skij's edition which both Zamaleev and Kolesov purport to be using.

III. Kirill of Turov

1. His Life

Kirill of Turov probably existed. If he did exist, then he probably lived in the mid- to late twelfth century, was certainly a monk, and perhaps then bishop of Turov (Turaŭ). He may also have written a number of homilies and prayers, and perhaps some letters.

This is the cautious version. The incautious version, largely spurious but frequently repeated in whole or in part, runs as follows: Kirill was born in Turov, the son of well-to-do parents, around the year 1130. When he grew up he entered a monastery, where he was distinguished for his strict asceticism and for his literary talent. In the late 1160s, at the pleading of the local prince, Kirill agreed to become bishop of Turov. In 1169 Bishop Kirill became actively involved in ecclesiastical controversy: he exposed the heresy of Feodor, who occupied the bishopric of Rostov without the consent of, or consecration by, the metropolitan of Kiev. Kirill wrote a series of letters to Feodor's patron, Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij, urging him to get rid of the renegade bishop. Kirill died in or before 1182. As for his cultural legacy, Kirill was by far the most prolific and varied writer in the entire extant literature of Kievan Rus′.[164]

How can two such disparate accounts coexist? The cautious version is based on two devastatingly negative facts. In the first place, no contemporary source contains any reference whatever to Kirill of Turov.[165] There is no hint even of his name in any historical record for about a hundred years after his supposed death. In the second place, despite a mass of attributions, no extant work can be *proved* to have been written by him.

[164] E.g., A. I. Ponomarev, "Sv. Kirill, episkop Turovskij, i ego poučenija," in *Pamjatniki drevnerusskoj cerkovno-učitel′noj literatury*, ed. id., vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1894), 88–104; P. Tatarynovič, *S. Cirillo, vesc. di Turov, e la sua dottrina spirituale* (Rome, 1950), 13–41; A. Nadson, "The Writings of St. Cyril of Turaŭ," *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 1 (1965): 4–8; id., *S′vjaty Kiryl Turaŭski* (London, 1968), 5–24.

[165] Tvorogov, in *Slovar′ knižnikov i knižnosti*, 218, erroneously states that the Hypatian Chronicle names Kirill as bishop in 1169.

In view of the total absence of direct evidence, how are the narratives of Kirill's life, and the lists of his works, constructed?

The life begins with the Life, a skeletal summary of Kirill's career found in the Synaxarion (*Prolog*).[166] The Life gives no dates, but provides the main sequence of themes and activities: birth in Turov from rich parents, strict ascetic monasticism, elevation to the bishopric, letters to Andrej Bogoljubskij about Feodor, a large and varied literary legacy.

The town of Turov is barely noticeable on modern maps, but in Kievan Rus′ it was the center of a principality and the seat of a bishop. In the eleventh century it was the patrimony of the eldest son of Jaroslav the Wise, Izjaslav, and was ruled by him and then by his own eldest son Svjatopolk, before each in his turn moved on to become prince of Kiev.

From the death of Svjatopolk in 1113 to the death of Jurij Dolgorukij in 1157, Turov tended to be controlled by the princes of Kiev (from whatever branch of the Rjurikid dynasty) rather than by the family of Izjaslav. In 1113 it was taken by Volodimer Monomax, after whose death it was inherited by his son Vjačeslav.[167] In 1142 Turov was claimed from Vjačeslav by the prince of Kiev, Vsevolod Ol′govič,[168] and in the autumn of 1146 it was seized by Monomax's grandson, Izjaslav M′stislavič, shortly after *he* became prince of Kiev.[169] For the next decade it was passed from hand to hand with each change of prince in Kiev: in 1151 Jurij Dolgorukij, in temporary control of Kiev, gave Turov to his son Andrej (Bogoljubskij), and in 1154, having become prince of Kiev after Izjaslav's death, Jurij gave Turov to another son, Boris, while Andrej received Vyšhorod.[170]

After Jurij's death, Turov reverted to its status as the seat of the Izjaslaviči and Svjatopolkoviči, patrimony of the sons of the eldest son of the eldest son of Jaroslav the Wise. From 1157 until the late 1160s it was ruled by Georgij Jaroslavič, son of the Volhynian prince

166 See below, Appendix III.
167 *PSRL* 1:297, 302, 307.
168 Ibid., 310.
169 Ibid., 314.
170 Ibid., 329, 345.

Jaroslav Svjatopolkovič.[171]

The Synaxarion Life of Kirill of Turov is a much later composition. Its author entreats Kirill to intercede so that the land may be freed from oppression by the "godless Hagarenes." If the "godless Hagarenes" are the Tatars, then the Life was written no earlier than the mid-thirteenth century. Its author did not have an intimate, firsthand knowledge of Kirill and his circumstances. For example, he describes Turov as being situated "near Kiev." In view of its political history one can understand how in later tradition Turov could be seen as a "Kievan" town.[172] But, at over three hundred kilometers from Kiev, it is "near" only if viewed from a considerably greater distance. The Synaxarion Life is some way removed from its subject both in time and in space.

Nevertheless, the Life is too specific to be dismissed as pure formula. The crucial reference is to Andrej Bogoljubskij and to the dispute over Feodor. The veracity of this reference seems to be supported by one of the works ascribed to Kirill: an allegorical commentary on the tale of the lame man and the blind man (representing the soul and the body), where the author twists his exegesis to attack those who hold ecclesiastical office unlawfully (I: §§22–24, 26, 29; cf. also IVe: §20). The target of this attack is not named. *No* contemporary people, places, or events are *ever* named explicitly in any work ascribed to Kirill.[173] But the hint of an implied link between a reference in the Life and a veiled allusion in a work supposedly by Kirill is enough for most scholars. Feodor was installed by Andrej Bogoljubskij as bishop of Rostov but refused to have his appointment legitimized by the metropolitan of Kiev. Eventually—probably in 1169—Andrej did consent to send him to Kiev, where the metropolitan ordered his tongue to be cut off, his right hand to be severed, and

[171] *PSRL* 2:491–92, 510, 527, 541. On the status of Turov in the mid-eleventh century, see Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Iaroslav 'The Wise,'" 383–84. On Turov in the twelfth century, see also Evgenij, *Tvorenija otca našego Kirilla,* I–XXXVIII; O. M. Rapov, *Knjažeskie vladenija na Rusi v X–pervoj polovine XIII v.* (Moscow, 1977), 81–93; P. F. Lysenko, "Kiev i Turovskaja zemlja," in *Kiev i zapadnye zemli Rusi v IX–XIII vv.*, ed. L. D. Pobol′ et al. (Minsk, 1982), 81–108; For the genealogies, see below, Appendix IV.

[172] *NPL*, 476.

[173] See below, p. lxxxiii n. 203.

his eyes to be gouged out.[174]

By such reckoning, at least part of Kirill's activities can be dated to the late 1160s. This provides a peg on which to hang a rudimentary chronology.

How is the chronology formed? In its crudest but most influential version it runs thus. Kirill must have been bishop, rather than a mere monk, when he entered the dispute over Feodor. The Life implies as much. Another bishop of Turov, Lavrentij, is mentioned in the Hypatian Chronicle's entry for 1182,[175] so that by 1182 Kirill was either dead or (in a less favored version) retired.[176] In 1182 bishop Lavrentij of Turov was present at the tonsure of the Kievan priest Vasilij, who had been chosen to succeed Polikarp as abbot of the Caves Monastery. A homily on monasticism, based on an allegorical tale of a king and his daughter and attributed to Kirill (no. II below), is presented in the manuscripts as if the addressee is Abbot Vasilij of the Caves. The attribution to Kirill is correct, but the mention of the addressee must be spurious. If Kirill became bishop of Turov in the mid-1160s (at any rate before 1169), and since bishops tended to be appointed when aged thirty-five to forty (!),[177] Kirill must have been born ca. 1130. Thus we reach the shorthand annotation: Kirill of Turov (ca. 1130–1182).[178]

"Kirill of Turov (ca. 1130–1182)" is a comforting fiction. Each stage of the argument is transparently flimsy. There is no compelling reason to assume that Kirill was bishop in the mid-1160s, no reason why, like Feodosij of the Caves,[179] Kirill should not have addressed critical letters to a prince while he himself was still a monk.

There is a list of bishops of Turov in *The Tale of the Monk Mar-*

174 *PSRL* 1:356; 2:552–53. On the events, see above, pp. lvii–lviii.

175 *PSRL* 2:627.

176 Monastic retirement is proposed in Evgenij, *Tvorenija otca našego Kirilla*, LXIX–LXXX; Eremin, "Nasledie" 11:344–45, insists that by 1182 Kirill must have been dead.

177 Evgenij, *Tvorenija otca našego Kirilla*, LV; Tatarynovič, *S. Cirillo, vesc. di Turov*, 23; modified in Nadson, *S'vjaty Kiryl Turaŭski*, 13.

178 E.g., Kolesov, in *PLDR. XII vek*, 660; V. F. Pustarnakov, "Filosofskie idei v religioznoj forme obščestvennogo soznanija Kievskoj Rusi," in *Vvedenie xristianstva na Rusi*, 229.

179 Cf. *Uspenskij sbornik*, fol. 58b, lines 26–28 (p. 121).

tin, a story appended to the miracles of Boris and Glěb.[180] Martin was an old monk in Turov. He had worked as a cook for the bishops Semen, Ignatij, and Jakim, before being allowed to retire by Bishop Georgij. Bishop Jakim, the third name in the list, was appointed in 1144 and deported to Kiev when Turov was taken by Izjaslav in 1146.[181] Georgij was his successor from an unknown date. By 1182 the bishop of Turov was Lavrentij. The conventional "free slot" for Kirill is therefore in the space between Georgij and Lavrentij, which could indeed lead neatly to the late 1160s.[182]

The apparent neatness is an illusion. First, one has to remember the awkward fact that two sources (the Hypatian Chronicle and the *Tale of Martin*) give us a total of five names of mid-twelfth-century bishops of Turov (Semen, Ignatij, Jakim, Georgij, Lavrentij), and not one of them is Kirill. And then one discovers a chronological obstacle in the *Tale of Martin*. The aged Martin (who, we recall, was retired from his job in the bishop's kitchens under Bishop Georgij) mentions "Prince Jaroslav," son of Georgij Jaroslavič. Georgij Jaroslavič was himself prince of Turov ca. 1158–1167. He was succeeded by his son Svjatopolk (d. ca. 1190). Jaroslav Georgievič was Svjatopolk's younger brother, and we first hear of him as prince of Pinsk, but only in *1183*.[183] Either Martin lived a very long time after his retirement, or he knew Jaroslav when Jaroslav was (hypothetically) prince (of where?) long before 1183; *or* there is no available chronological gap for Kirill between the two known bishops of Turov during these years, Georgij and Lavrentij.

The obstacles are not insuperable, and Kirill *could* have been bishop of Turov from the late 1160s. But he could equally well have been bishop *after* Lavrentij: that is, after 1182.

A later incumbency would be supported by subsequent medieval tradition in everything except the Synaxarion Life. The order of events in the Life cannot be decisive: in the first place, because the text is brief and late; and secondly, because it is structured

180 "Slovo o Martině mnisě, iže bě v Turově," in D. I. Abramovič [Abramovyč], ed., *Žitija svjatyx mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (Petrograd, 1916), 199.
181 *PSRL* 1:314; 2:314, 330. On Izjaslav and Jakim, see also above, pp. liv–lv.
182 On the bishops of Turov, see Evgenij, *Tvorenija otca našego Kirilla*, XXXIX–LII; also A. Poppe, *Państwo i kościół na Rusi w XI wieku* (Warsaw, 1968), 185.
183 *PSRL* 2:631. See below, Appendix IV.

thematically rather than according to a strict chronology. It starts with Kirill's ecclesiastical biography and then deals with his writings. The thematic order in this late text is not necessarily a reliable guide to real chronology. Elsewhere the Kirill of tradition is almost always a monk rather than a bishop. "Kirill, bishop of Turov" is an infrequent variant in the manuscript headings of the works ascribed to him. Usually he is "Kirill the monk."

Concern for Kirill's status as the key to his biography is a diversion. He could have been born at any time in the first half of the twelfth century, could have been a monk right through the 1160s and 1170s, and could have been appointed bishop well into the 1180s.

This "alternative" biography is no more or less fanciful than the "accepted" version. There are no means of knowing which is the more accurate. Quite possibly they are both wildly wrong. It is far more important to recognize the *absence* of biographical data about Kirill than to express a preference for any one of the tenuous attempts to conjure a real historical figure out of the air.

As a figure in history Kirill of Turov is elusive almost to the point of invisibility. Kirill of Turov exists in tradition, exists *as* tradition. But whether or not the tradition stems from an identifiable person, and how such a person actually lived—these are matters of the vaguest conjecture. The tradition of Kirill of Turov is the large number of works attributed to him.

2. THE WORKS

The stable core of Kirill's "collected prose" consists of eleven works, which have repeatedly been published together—often with additional items—from the *editio princeps* of Kalajdovič in 1821 to Eremin's critical edition of the 1950s. The collection represents a nineteenth-century consensus which has occasionally been questioned but has not been substantially revised. It contains:

I. *The Tale of the Body and the Soul:* an allegorical commentary on the story of the lame man and the blind man who conspire to enter their lord's vineyard.[184]

[184] Eremin, "Nasledie" 12:340–47; on the MSS, see id., "Nasledie" 11:342–44; parallel Russian translation by V. V. Kolesov in *PLDR. XII v.*, 290–308.

II. *The Tale of a Layman:* an allegory of monasticism, using a story of a king and his daughter who find an old hermit in a cave on a mountain.[185]

III. *On the Monastic Order:* an exhortation for monks, with detailed explanation of the symbolism of monastic clothing.[186]

IV. A cycle of eight sermons from Palm Sunday to the Sunday before Pentecost, comprising:

IVa. *A Sermon for Palm Sunday,* elaborating Matt. 21.[187]

IVb. *A Sermon for Easter Sunday:* on the Resurrection.[188]

IVc. *A Sermon for Low Sunday:* on the "renewal" of the Resurrection, and on overcoming the doubts of Thomas.[189]

IVd. *A Sermon for the Third Sunday after Easter:* on Joseph of Arimathea.[190]

IVe. *A Sermon for the Fourth Sunday after Easter:* on the healing of the sick man at Bethesda (John 5:2–19).[191]

IVf. *A Sermon for the Sixth Sunday after Easter:* on the healing of the man blind from birth (John 9).[192]

IVg. *A Sermon for Ascension Day:* on Christ's entry into heaven.[193]

IVh. *A Sermon for the Sunday before Pentecost:* on the Council of Nicaea and the defeat of the heretic Arius.[194]

These are the works translated in the present volume.

In addition to the sermons and the allegorical commentaries, the consensus would normally ascribe to Kirill:

V. A weekly cycle of twenty-one, or possibly thirty, prayers (twenty-one regularly labeled as by "Kirill the Monk" in the

185 Eremin, "Nasledie" 12:348–54; see id., "Nasledie" 11:344–46.
186 Eremin, "Nasledie" 12:354–61; see id., "Nasledie" 11:346–49.
187 Eremin, "Nasledie" 13:409–11; see id., "Nasledie" 11:349–50; also T. A. Alekseeva, "K lingvotekstologičeskomu izučeniju proizvedenij Kirilla Turovskogo," in *Pamjatniki russkogo jazyka: voprosy issledovanija i publikacii*, ed. L. P. Žukovskaja and N. S. Kotkov (Moscow, 1974), 157–70.
188 Eremin, "Nasledie" 13:412–14; see id., "Nasledie" 11:350–51.
189 Eremin, "Nasledie" 13:415–19; see id., "Nasledie" 11:351–52.
190 Eremin, "Nasledie" 13:419–26; see id. "Nasledie" 11:352–58; parallel Russian translation by V. V. Kolesov in *PLDR. XII v.*, 310–23.
191 Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:331–35; see id., "Nasledie" 11:358–59.
192 Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:336–40; see id., "Nasledie" 11:359–60.
193 Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:340–43; see id., "Nasledie" 11:360–61.
194 Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:343–48; see id., "Nasledie" 11:361–62.

manuscripts, a further nine unattributed but regularly copied in the same cycle.)[195]

VI. A *Canon.*[196]

VII. Perhaps a *Canon to Ol'ga.*[197]

It is deceptive to list Kirill's works in this way. Lists give the appearance of clarity, of defined boundaries, and of judicious choice. The impression is false.

No item on the list can be conclusively proved to have been written by Kirill of Turov.

Of the many *other* works periodically ascribed to Kirill, few can be proved *not* to have been written by him.

Kalajdovič's 1821 *editio princeps* of Kirill contained fifteen works:[198] items I–IVh on the above list, and four additional homilies. In 1858 Suxomlinov produced an edition containing a further six homilies and instructions.[199] A further five items are added (albeit as *dubia*) by Nikol'skij.[200] More candidates are proposed from time to time.[201] Why is the Kirillic legacy so flexible?

Manuscript collections of sermons, homilies, prayers, allegorical commentaries, and sententious utterances often indicate that works are by Kirill. The problem is that there were many Kirills but no systematic differentiation between them.[202] Apart from the very rare "Kirill, bishop of Turov" (even when this designation occurs, it tends to be just one of several variant readings), the headings in the

195 *Kirill von Turov. Gebete. Nach der Ausgabe in* Pravoslavnyj sobesednik *1858,* repr., ed. D. Čyževs'kyj, Slavische Propyläen, 6 (Munich, 1965); see Eremin, "Nasledie" 11:362–66.

196 Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi,* 3:168–71, 316–20.

197 Nikol'skij, *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti,* 88–94. Further on the Kirillic corpus, see Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur,* 96–101, 149–59, 240–46.

198 K. F. Kalajdovič, "Tvorenija Kirilla, episkopa Turovskogo, rossijskogo vitii XII veka," in his *Pamjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti XII veka* (Moscow, 1821), 1–152.

199 M. I. Suxomlinov, *Rukopisi grafa A. S. Uvarova,* vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1858).

200 Nikol'skij, *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti,* 65–94.

201 Inevitably, Kirill has been proposed as the author of the *Tale of Igor's Campaign*: B. I. Zotov, "Kto on—avtor 'Slova o polku Igoreve'?" *Voprosy istorii,* 1989, no. 1:118–24; id., "'Besovskaja pesnja' Kirilla Turovskogo," *Voprosy istorii,* 1990, no. 7:189–91.

202 E. V. Petuxov, *K voprosu o Kirillax-avtorax v drevnej russkoj literature* (St. Petersburg, 1887) (= *SbORJaS* 42, no. 3), 1–4.

manuscripts include "Kirill the monk" (commonest of all), "Kirill the philosopher," "Saint Kirill," "the blessed father Kirill," "the blessed monk Kirill," "Kirill the unworthy monk," "the venerable Kirill."

Thus labeled, each work has to be allocated to one of several real Kirills and Cyrils: Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386); Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444); Cyril of Scythopolis (mid-sixth century); Constantine-Cyril, apostle of the Slavs (d. 869); Metropolitan Kirill I of Kiev (1223–1233); Metropolitan Kirill II of Kiev (1243–1290); Bishop Kirill of Rostov (1231–1262); Kirill of Turov; and an indeterminate number of other Kirills who may have lived and had listeners, but who failed to attract the attention of chroniclers and hagiographers. To complicate matters further, the labels often appear to be interchangeable.

The profusion and confusion of names is not entirely accidental. In part it is due to the medieval habit of anonymity and pseudonymity, whereby works of a given type tend to agglomerate around authoritative names. And in part it is due to the nature of "Kirillic" genres. Kirillic genres are deliberately constructed so as to give an impression of timelessness or universality. They deal with the truisms of ethical imperatives, with the repeated cycles of the liturgical year and the events commemorated and reenacted therein, with monastic retreat from temporal distractions. Contemporary "relevance," specific clues as to time, place, and people, are excluded or heavily disguised.[203]

How, then, does one decide what was written by Kirill of Turov? Conventionally there have been three main criteria: manuscript attribution; judgments as to Kirill's interpretative style and compositional

[203] In the Kirillic corpus the only explicit references to historical persons from Rus′ are: (a) II: § 34, a reference to Feodosij of the Caves, in a passage which on other grounds is considered spurious by L. K. Goetz, "Die Echtheit der Mönchsrede des Kirills von Turov," *ASP* 27 (1905): 188–90; (b) in a prayer (*Kirill von Turov, Gebete*, 340–41) a list of intercessors which includes Boris and Glěb, Leontij of Rostov, Antonij and Feodosij of the Caves: at least part of the list (and perhaps the whole prayer) is spurious, for it contains the names of Prince Mixail (Mixail of Černihiv from the mid-thirteenth century or Mixail of Tver′ from the mid-fifteenth century) and Metropolitan Iona (1448–1461); (c) in another prayer (*Kirill von Turov, Gebete*, 337) a plea for intercession from Feodosij of the Caves, the beacon of "All Rus′." In addition there are a few pleas for intercession on behalf of "our prince," "our princes," "our city": IVd: § 43; IVg: § 13; IVh: § 20; *Kirill von Turov, Gebete*, 287, 334, 336.

methods; and previous scholarly opinion.[204] These three criteria are to a large extent tautologous: new candidates for Kirillic attribution are assessed by means of comparison with a Kirillic corpus which is itself hypothetical.[205]

The problem has no clear solution. It is an inevitable consequence of Kirill's traditionalism. Kirill survives as a construct through later tradition: traditions in the manuscripts, and traditions of modern attribution. Kirill also—whoever he was and whatever he wrote—slides easily into earlier tradition. He is often said to be the "Chrysostom" of Kievan Rus′,[206] after the fourth-century church father whose voluminous writings (both genuine and spurious) commanded enormous respect throughout the Middle Ages. The phrase is apt beyond any specific comparison between the "real" Kirill of Turov and the "real" John Chysostom. Kirill of Turov is the most authentically "patristic" writer from Kievan Rus′: because of the liturgical, homiletic, and hymnographic genres with which his name is associated, because of the way he merges with the mainstream,[207] becomes almost indistinguishable from previous and subsequent named and unnamed exponents of the genres, accumulates dubious and spurious attributions over time.

Kirill of Turov may or may not have written some or all of the works in the corpus of his prose. With or without Kirill, the works are legitimately comparable with one another. "Kirill of Turov" is a convenient personalized label for the collection of works. What are his (i.e., their) main characteristics?

204 E.g., Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 3:126–27.

205 Petuxov, *K voprosu o Kirillax-avtorax*, 4–8.

206 In the Life: see below, Appendix III; cf. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:796–97; Nadson, *S′vjaty Kiryl Turaŭski*, 61–85.

207 On the types of manuscripts in which Kirill's works appear in the East Slavic tradition—especially in relation to the *Toržestvennik* and *Zlatoust*—see Alekseeva, "K lingvotekstologičeskomu analizu"; id., "Sborniki postojannogo i var′irujuščego sostava so slovami Kirilla Turovskogo," in *Metodičeskie rekomendacii po opisaniju slavjano-russkix rukopisej dlja Svodnogo kataloga rukopisej, xranjaščixsja v SSSR*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1976), 236–56; T. V. Čertorickaja, "O načal′nyx ètapax formirovanija drevnerusskix literaturnyx sbornikov *Zlatoust* i *Toržestvennik* (Triodnogo tipa)," in *Istočnikovedenie literatury drevnej Rusi*, ed. D. S. Lixačev (Leningrad, 1980), esp. the tables, pp. 103–11, showing how Kirill's works tend to be interspersed with patristic writings.

3. MANNER AND STYLE

Kirill is known as a bishop, but his works exude the aura of the monastery. With the exception of the cryptic digressions in I: §§21–29, perhaps alluding to the controversial bishop Feodor of Rostov, and apart from a couple of pleas for intercession on behalf of "the [unnamed] prince," Kirill's external points of reference are located within the monastic walls. Two of his three allegorical commentaries are about monasticism: II is the parable of the king and his daughter and the old man on the mountain, an allegory of monastic asceticism; III includes a discourse on the prefiguration of monasticism in the Old and New Testaments (III: §§2–19), an elaborate account of the significance of the monastic habit (III: §§20–41), and remarks on the relationship of monks to angels (III: §§42–46). All the works are introduced as being by "Kirill the monk" either in all or in most of the manuscripts. In two of the allegorical commentaries Kirill directly addresses "monks" (II: §50), "my fathers" (II: §51), "the elder brethren" (III: §47), "monk" (III: §46). The sermons are mostly addressed to "brethren" (IVa, c, e, f, g, h). In one of his prayers Kirill asks for divine protection for "this monastic enclosure, within which we abide."[208] Kirill never states or implies that he is a bishop.

If the general context for Kirill's works is the monastery, the particular context for most of them is the church (whether part of a monastery or not). His prayers are arranged according to a seven-day liturgical cycle. The sermons are distributed across the cycle of services from Palm Sunday to the Sunday before Pentecost. Often he refers explicitly to acts of worship or to a gathering in church (e.g., IVa: §14: "let us crown the holy church with songs"; IVb: §15: "now we gather into the holy church"; IVg: §15: "let us enter the holy church"). Even the exegetic commentaries are set out (though probably not by Kirill) with an apparatus partly reminiscent of liturgical hymns and lections, with *incipits* and *explicits* (I: §§5, 7, 22, 38, 44; III: §8) and an alternation of "modes" (III: §§4, 6, 13, 15, 17).

Kirill does not have a uniform style or manner. The structure of his rhetoric—the configuration of devices, the balance of parts, the

208 *Kirill von Turov, Gebete*, 336. However, one should bear in mind that "brethren" was a widely used form of literary address (e.g., the opening of the *Tale of Igor's Campaign*), not restricted to a monastic context.

emphasis—changes according to genre. In rather formulaic terms one might say that in the commentaries Kirill's use of rhetorical devices is determined by the need for *explication*, whereas in the sermons his use of rhetorical devices is determined by the need for *evocation*.

Explication in the commentaries is linear, agglomerative. Kirill first shows us his "base text" (the story of the householder and his vineyard and of the lame man and the blind man set to guard it; the story of the king and his daughter; the description of Aaron's vestments). Then he goes through the text again, segment by segment, line by line, sometimes word by word, explaining the hidden significance of each part. The basic structure is common to many kinds of writing, from *catenae* ("chains") of exegesis on the Bible, through to modern scholarly editions of texts with line-by-line annotations. But the functions of this basic form vary in different types of work. Ilarion uses line-by-line commentary (on the story of Isaac and Ishmael) as one constituent part of the larger structure of arguments which form his *Sermon on Law and Grace*. Klim Smoljatič demonstrates typological and allegorical exegesis as a method in itself and presents a series of examples linked together by form more than by theme. For Kirill of Turov, by contrast, in I and II and to a certain extent in III, the single thematic commentary is coterminous with the work. It is neither a specimen of method nor a fragment of a larger argument. Kirill's is the "purest" use of the basic commentary form, which controls the structure and the contents of the works.

There are aesthetic consequences. Intellectual rigor takes precedence over literary elegance. Kirill's commentaries are relentless in their progression from segment of text to segment of text in pursuit of the required meaning. Rhetorical amplification is hemmed in between segments, not allowed to usurp control over the rhythm of the work, which is therefore "bitty" and uneven. Kirill's art of persuasion is here directed towards demonstrating, piece by small piece, the cohesiveness of the argument and the coherence of the inner meaning, more than towards hypnotizing his audience with the wonders of expression.

These are general characteristics. In detail the three commentaries vary somewhat in their construction.

The discourse on the tale of the lame man and the blind man (I) is the longest and most complex. Kirill's exegesis operates on three levels simultaneously. On the first level Kirill takes his audience

through the story, explaining the allegorical significance of each of its elements in turn. Thus the lame man and the blind man represent the soul and the body: that is, they are a composite figure of the nature of man. They are set by their lord (i.e., the Lord) to watch over his garden. The garden is Eden, or a monastery, or the sanctuary of a church. They transgress their lord's command by entering the garden and taking the fruit (i.e., transgression in general, usurpation of ecclesiastical office in particular). They are punished (the Last Judgment).

On the second level, parallel to the sequence of allegory, there is a sequence of time: in effect, a brief disquisition on the history of divine Providence, from the creation and the nature of the universe and the nature of angels and men and the garden of Eden (I: §§ 7–15), through Adam and Cain and Abel (I: §§ 23–32), to the eschatology of the Second Coming and divine judgment (I: §§ 37–50).

On the third level, the least conspicuous in the scheme of composition, we find the implicit contemporary allusions to the hierarch who holds office unlawfully (I: §§ 23, 26, 29, 33). The allusions are sparse and veiled. They are certainly not prominent enough to justify the description of the whole work as a polemical "pamphlet"[209] aimed at Feodor.

The whole work is prefaced by a eulogy to books and book learning (I: §§ 1–3), linked to the main exegesis by the comparison of the bookman to the householder (cf. Matt. 13:52), which anticipates the tale of the "man that was a householder" (Matt. 21:33), which in turn is amplified as the tale of the lame and the blind.

The second discourse, on the tale of the king and his daughter (II), is more compactly formed. It is narrower in theme and focus, with a less elaborate set of interrelationships between various levels and strands of meaning. Story and commentary develop together, more evenly interlinked. The discourse can be divided into two parts, signaled by the main heading and by the subheading at II: § 32 ("an encomium to monks"). There is no general introduction, like the introduction on book learning in I. The first part starts with its complete narrative, which is then repeated in segments interspersed with commentary. In the second part the commentaries accompany the continuation of the narrative, with no preliminary telling of the story. In the first part the qualities and defects of the king in his city are shown

[209] E.g., Tvorogov, in *Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti*, 218; Eremin, "Nasledie" 11:342.

to represent the qualities and deficiencies of secular life (II: §§3–13), and the discovery of the man in the cave on the mountain represents his discovery of monasticism, and the observation of life in the cave is a device to explain some of the main features of monastic life (II: §§14–30). The second part shows the transition from the former to the latter, from the mountainside into the cave, from the world into the monastery (II: §§32–50).

In the discourse *Concerning the Monastic Order* (III) the structure of textual commentary is integrated with two other kinds of conventional structure: that of typological correspondence between the Old and New Testaments, and that of Biblical prefiguration of post-Biblical events and phenomena. The discourse consists of four sections: (i) on the prefiguration of monasticism in the Old Testament (III: §§2–5, 13–14, 17–19) and in the New Testament (III: §§6–12, 15–16); (ii) on the Old Testament account of Aaron's vestments—which is the main text for elucidation—as a prefiguration of monasticism (III: §§20–29); (iii) on the relationship *both* of Aaron's vestments *and* of monasticism to the New Testament (e.g., Aaron as a figure of Christ; III: §§30–41); (iv) on monks and angels (III: §§42–46).[210]

The three commentaries are therefore generically alike but compositionally distinct. The basic form is defined by the linear development of textual exegesis. But this form is variously modified in combination with historical, allegorical, and typological structures of argument.

The commentaries, devoted to *explication*, establish a critical distance between the author/reader and the narrative. Their aim is to show the relationship between the main narrative and at least one other set of events prefigured or symbolized in it. The narrative is shown to be important *because of* its relationship to these equivalent events.

Kirill's sermons, devoted to *evocation*, aim to break down this sense of critical distance, to transcend textual and temporal separation, to enable the author/audience to *participate* in (rather than to analyze) the events which are simultaneously commemorated and relived in the cycles of the liturgical year. Kirill's sermons are mostly (IVa–g)

[210] For more detail, see G. Podskalsky, "Symbolische Theologie in der dritten Mönchsrede Kirills von Turov," *Cyrillomethodianum* 8–9 (1984–85): 49–57.

embellished versions of stories from the New Testament, expanded and dramatized for emotional and linguistic effect.

In order to achieve the required effect, to abolish the barriers of time and distance between his audience and the story, Kirill resorts to a set of favored rhetorical devices. The persistent use of such devices (though not of course their identical use in each work) is a characteristic feature of his sermons. The most prominent of Kirill's favored devices are:

(i) Bringing the past into the present; emphasis on the eternal (cyclical) present of the narrative through repetition of adverbial phrases of time, as, for example:

IVa: §§3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, where the repeated "on this day" at the start of each paragraph controls the rhythm of the rhetoric.

IVb: §2, where relative time in the narrative is presented as if from the perspective of the narrator's present ("on the day before yesterday our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified"); §§6, 7 ("on this day...").

IVc: §3 ("last Sunday all things received their transformation"); §§7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 (again the repeated "on this day..." in the evocation of the renewal of spring, adapted from Gregory of Nazianzus).[211]

IVg: §3 ("for these forty days...");
§5 ("Christ is come to the mount on this day").

(ii) The opposite procedure: taking the present into the past, through appeal to the audiences's imagination:

IVa: §13 ("let us worship Him and fall down before Him as if—in our minds—kissing His pure and perfect feet").

IVb: §15 ("we gather into the holy church, as if into Galilee").

IVc: §19 ("let us now ascend in our minds to the Mount of Sion...").

IVg: §5 ("let us now travel in our minds to the Mount of Olives...").

(iii) Dramatization, through the use of speeches. The basic narrative, usually from the Gospels, is massively expanded with elaborate

[211] See A. Vaillant, "Cyrille de Tourov et Grégoire de Nazianze," *RES* 26 (1950): 34–50; Ju. K. Begunov "Tri opisanija vesny (Grigorij Nazianzen, Kirill Turovskij, Lev Anikita Filolog)," *ZIK* 10 (1976): 269–81.

speeches put into the mouths of its participants. In some of the sermons the speeches are combined into extended dialogues. The main speeches in Kirill's sermons are:

IVb: §7 (the angels to the spice-bearing women);
§12 (Christ to his disciples after the Resurrection).
IVc: §§20–25, 26 (dialogue of Christ with Thomas).
IVd: §§3–10 (the Virgin's lament for Christ on the cross);
§12 (the Virgin to Joseph of Arimathea);
§§14–22 (Joseph of Arimathea to Pontius Pilate);
§§24–25 (Joseph of Arimathea over the body of Christ);
§§30–34 (the angel to the spice-bearing women).
IVe: §§6–9, 10–12 (dialogue of the sick man and the Jews);
§§14, 15, 16 (dialogue of the sick man and Christ);
§19 (what Christ "might have said" to the sick man).
IVf: §§9, 10 (the Jews' deliberations concerning the wrongs and merits of Jesus);
§§12, 13, 14, 15 (dialogue of the blind man with the Jews);
§§17–18 (the blind man to Christ).
IVg: §§10–11 (dialogue of the angels with heaven's gatekeepers).
IVh: §9 (Arius to the Council of Nicaea);
§§10–12 (the Council to Arius).

As devices with which to structure the sermons, the speeches and the anaphoric temporal phrases serve as alternatives. The sermons which lack the anaphoric temporal phrases (IVd, e, f, and to a lesser extent IVg) are precisely those which are dominated by speeches. In IVc both devices are used extensively but are kept separate from one another— IVc:§§8–18 structured with temporal phrases; IVc:§§20ff. structured with dialogue.

Finally we should mention rhetoric itself: rhetoric in the modern sense of purely stylistic embellishment. By contrast with the explicatory commentaries (where the demands of interlinear exegesis tend to curtail the flights of rhetoric, or at least to make its trajectory uneven and sometimes jerky and erratic), the evocative function of the sermons positively demands that the language should soar, and Kirill revels in the opportunities thus provided for him. He is as relentless—some would say as immoderate—in his pursuit of linguistic effect as in his exegetic pursuit of esoteric meanings. A typical Kirillic sermon

(though not all the sermons are rigidly formulaic replicas of the type) is constructed as a set of what have been called "rhetorical tirades"[212] of varied and unpredictable length. The tirade is a quasi-tautologous elaboration of a subtheme, usually with the use of a repeated construction or phrase. There is no "logical" end for each tirade, and the transitions can appear somewhat abrupt. A Kirillic sermon tends to resemble a series of scenes, a series of thematically linked word pictures rather than a continuously unfolding story.

Modern judgments, like modern tastes, vary. But modern tastes are not necessarily relevant. The first and authoritative aesthetic verdict on Kirill's rhetoric must be that of his intended audience, the verdict of the contemporaries and successors to whose aesthetic sensibilities he appealed. Kirill's methods are amply vindicated by his medieval reputation, by his entry into tradition, by his inspiration of imitators.[213]

Kirill was imitated; but Kirill was also an imitator. The Kirillic tradition may need no defence, but we can legitimately question the extent to which Kirill himself should take the credit. What were his sources, and how did he treat them?

[212] I. P. Eremin, "Oratorskoe iskusstvo Kirilla Turovskogo," in his *Literatura Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966), 132–43. In modern scholarship Kirill's style is often mentioned but rarely analyzed. In most detail, see A. Stebel's'ka, "Propovidnyctvo Kyryla Turivs'koho," *Bohoslovia* 38 (1974), esp. 148–70. On traditional imagery, see S. V. Kozlov, "Simvolika 'duxovnyx sokrovišč' v sočinenijax Kirilla Turovskogo," in *Žanrovoe svoeobrazie i stil'* (Moscow, 1985), 95–109. For lexical observations, see V. V. Kolesov, "K xarakteristike poètičeskogo stilja Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 36 (1981): 37–49; A. E. Suprun, "Die lexikalische Struktur eines altrussischen Textes. Studien zur Palmensonntagspredigt (Slovo na Verbnicu) Kirills von Turov," in *Sprache und Literatur Altrusslands*, ed. G. Birkfellner (Münster, 1987), 221–40. On Kirill's prayers, see O. I. Fedotov, "O ritmičeskom stroe pamjatnikov drevnerusskoj gimnografii kievskogo perioda," in *Literatura Drevnej Rusi. Mežvuzovskij sbornik naučnyx trudov*, ed. N. I. Prokof'ev (Moscow, 1986), 19–34.

[213] See above, nn. 1, 207; also Evgenij, *Tvorenija otca našego Kirilla*, LXXXIX–CII; however, M. F. Antonova, "Kirill Turovskij i Epifanij Premudryj," *TODRL* 36 (1981): 223–27, makes an unpersuasive attempt to show the direct influence of Kirill.

4. KIRILL OF TUROV AND HIS SOURCES

Kirill of Turov regularly assures his listeners that his commentaries and sermons contain nothing new, nothing of his own invention; that he is merely following the words of the books (e.g., I: §§40, 42, 51; III: §47; IVg: §4; IVh: §3). He assembles the parts "as if weaving together the scraps and pieces cut from cloth" (II: §31). Such disclaimers are commonplace, versions of the standard medieval "humility *topos*" or "modesty *topos*." However, the fact that they are literary conventions does not have to mean that they are also untrue. Kirill *was* a traditional writer. His self-imposed task was to perpetuate a tradition, not to change or modernize it; to become authoritative by following authority rather than by challenging it.

Generic parallels for the Kirillic corpus are common from patristic writings onwards. But Kirill did not just emulate general conventions: he wrote under the direct and traceable influence of specific texts. The main textual sources for almost all the works in the Kirillic prose corpus have been identified. They are to be found among the works of early Christian and Byzantine churchmen available to Kirill in Slavonic translation. Segments of Kirill's sermons can be shown to be modeled on equivalent passages in sermons by, for example, John Chrysostom, Epiphanius of Salamis, Ephrem Syrus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Eusebius of Caesarea, the *scholia* of Nicetas of Heraclea, Titus of Bostra, Theophylact of Ohrid, and the chronicler George the Monk (George Hamartolus).[214] Variants of the tale of the lame man and the blind man are found as far apart as the Talmud and the *One Thousand and One Nights*. Kirill borrows his version of it from the Synaxarion (*Prolog*).[215] The story of the king and his daughter reached Kievan Rus′ in the translation of the *Tale of Barlaam and Joasaph*: again Kirill takes it, together with the beginnings of a commentary, from the

[214] In most detail, see V. P. Vinogradov, "O xaraktere propovedničeskogo tvorčestva Kirilla, episkopa Turovskogo," in *V pamjat′ stoletija (1814–1914) Imperatorskoj Moskovskoj duxovnoj akademii. Sbornik statej*, pt. 2 (Sergiev Posad, 1915), 313–95; Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works," 66–69, 76–83.

[215] Suxomlinov, *Rukopisi grafa Uvarova*, 2:XLVII–LI, 137–41; id., "Dva semitskie skazanija, vstrečajuščiesja v pamjatnikax russkoj literatury," in his *Issledovanija po drevnej russkoj literature* (St. Petersburg, 1908) (=*SbORJaS* 85, no. 1), 672–77.

Synaxarion.[216]

Kirill is a traditionalist, but not a consistent plagiarist. None of his sermons is modeled exclusively on any *single* source: in each sermon Kirill mixes themes and images suggested by a variety of his predecessors. His methods cannot be equated with those of Klim Smoljatič, who copied the texts of others verbatim. Sometimes Kirill does follow authority closely, but mostly he adapts, modifies, expands, rephrases, recombines, and develops.[217] If he had been a musician, one might have said that each of his compositions is a set of "variations on themes." The basic melodies were borrowed, but the composition is his own.

Kirill's readiness to manipulate and recast extends to the Bible. Some of Kirill's multitudinous Biblical references reach him through his intermediary sources, others he introduces himself. The most consistently accurate quotations are from the Psalms, which Kirill (like any monk of his time) must have known by heart. Elsewhere distortion is more common than precision. The distortions do not seem to arise from any deliberate attempt to adapt Scripture (except in the obvious case of the "dramatized" expansion of narrative). Rather they are due to familiarity. Kirill usually quotes as if from memory, and his memory was approximate. Sometimes he (or his sources, which he fails to correct) even misattributes Biblical citations: e.g., I: § 40 (Jeremiah for Hezekiah); II: § 13 ("Paul to the Romans," when the phrase is from Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians); IVc: § 21 (Isaiah for John); IVf: § 10 (Jeremiah for Baruch). He gives the appearance of ascribing the tale of the lame and the blind to Matthew's gospel.[218]

For Kirill and his contemporaries the Bible was impeccable but not untouchable. One could not delete sections of the Bible, but there was certainly no ban on adding to it. There was no horror of the

216 See I. N. Lebedeva, *Povest' o Varlaame i Ioasafe* (Leningrad, 1985), 85–89.

217 E.g., Suxomlinov, *Rukopisi grafa Uvarova*, 2:XII–XXXII. Vinogradov, "O xaraktere tvorčestva Kirilla," calls Kirill's work an "artistic mosaic" (p. 391), "compilative" insofar as Kirill continually borrows sets of ideas and expressions; however, he stresses that Kirill rarely copies any of his sources precisely or extensively (p. 331). Further on Kirill's methods, see below, pp. c–cv.

218 See also Vaillant, "Cyrille de Turov et Grégoire de Nazianze," 35; however, the cause of such distortions is sometimes Kirill's deliberate use of rhetorical license rather than carelessness.

apocryphal, no automatic rejection of material which might help to fill out the often overlaconic Biblical texts. Klim Smoljatič accepts apocryphal genealogies of Christ. Kirill's sermons vastly expand and embroider the Biblical stories which they retell, and they are littered with apocryphal details: on the fate of the prophets, from the *Visions of Isaiah*; the name of Longinus the centurion (IVf: § 14; IVb: § 14).

Some have seen Kirill as an overflorid paraphrast and periphrast—in fact a bombast—who tried to cover with rhetoric what he lacked in intellect and originality;[219] as a man who killed the poetry of his patristic sources in his overearnest pursuit of didactic allegory.[220] Others have been inclined to take both his style and his thought more seriously: he is said to be a brilliant writer,[221] a man of deep spirituality,[222] a fairly sophisticated theologian,[223] even a significant philosopher.[224] Certainly he was a skilled practitioner of a traditional craft. If we accept the convention of his name as the label for the Kirillic corpus, then Kirill was the most prolific named practitioner of that craft in the extant legacy of Kievan Rus′. In assessing his achievements, we are of course free to judge according to any of our own criteria which we care to choose. However, the question of Kirill's individuality as a writer raises broader issues and should be considered in a broader context.

219 E.g., Fennell and Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* 62–64; Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works," 66–67.

220 Vaillant, "Cyrille de Turov et Grégoire de Nazianze," 47–50.

221 E.g., Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, 1, pt. 1:796–803. Golubinskij is more complimentary about the form than about the content.

222 A. Nadson, "Spiritual Writings of St. Cyril of Turaŭ," *Eastern Churches Review* 1 (1967): 347–58.

223 Podskalsky, "Symbolische Theologie"; id., "L'Évêque Cyrille de Tourov (IIe moitié du XIIe siècle). Le théologien le plus important de la Rus' de Kiev," *Irénikon* 61 (1988): 507–22; F. Scholz, "Studien zu den Gebeten Kirills von Turov. I: Die angelologischen Vorstellungen in ihrem Verhältnis zur Tradition und Versuch einer Gattungsbestimmung," in *Sprache und Literatur Altrusslands*, 167–220.

224 Such studies tend to start from the proposition that Kirill's Christianity was merely the form of expression and attempt to convert Kirill's religious utterances into a system of rationalistic and cryptosecular thought: see, e.g., A. S. Klevčenja [Kljaŭčenja], "Idejnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," in *Istoričeskie tradicii filosofskoj kul′tury narodov SSSR i sovremennost′* (Kiev, 1984), 153–60. Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′*, 149, sees signs of Arianism. Vodoff, *Naissance*, 255–56, finds traces of Monophysitism in Kirill's Orthodoxy.

IV. On Tradition and Individuality in Kievan Rhetoric

There are many varieties of rhetorical writing in Kievan Rus′. One can find rhetorical passages in chronicles, in hagiography, in the *Supplication* of Daniil the Exile, in the *Tale of Igor's Campaign*, in hymnography, in prayers. Much of medieval literature was designed to be read or recited aloud, and the acoustic and rhythmic qualities were important for effective oral delivery. The works of Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, and Kirill of Turov do not represent the whole of Kievan rhetoric, but they form a coherent and significant subgroup. George Fedotov labeled them the "byzantinists" of their age.[225] The label is somewhat misleading, since virtually all Kievan literature is an outgrowth of the Eastern Christian tradition which reached the Rus′ from Byzantium via the Slavonic translations originating mainly in Bulgaria. Yet at the same time one can understand the point of calling Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill "byzantinists." The homiletic and exegetic genres are among the "purest" versions of the rhetorical tradition inherited from Byzantium, relatively uncontaminated by local narrative either in language or in the controlling structure of events. These works, therefore, bring into especially sharp focus the issue of the relationship between Kievan rhetoric and its Byzantine sources, the question of whether or what kind of individuality can be detected in the most traditionalist genres of a traditionalist culture.

Alternatively, according to some criteria, there is *no* rhetoric in the surviving literature of Kievan Rus′. To prove the case we need only glance at the textbooks. Gerhard Podskalsky's comprehensive guide to Kievan literature[226] contains no section on rhetoric nor even a reference to rhetoric in the very thorough subject index. By contrast Herbert Hunger's guide to Byzantine literature devotes over 130 pages to *Rhetorik*, with subsections on its history and functions, theory and practice.[227] In small ways this discrepancy can be diminished. One could point out, for example, that the genre of encomium, treated by

225 Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:63–93.

226 Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur*.

227 Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 1:63–196, 208–13.

Hunger as a branch of rhetoric, can be found in Podskalsky under other headings. One could note also that a direct comparison between the two books is imprecise, since Hunger ostensibly deals with Byzantine secular literature, while Podskalsky is ostensibly concerned only with Kievan theological literature. But these are feeble excuses, and the discrepancy is real. In native Kievan writing there is no extant equivalent to the Byzantine tradition of rhetoric as a subject in itself, as a theory and a discipline derived from the systematic study and imitation of the classics. There was no classical education in Kievan Rus′, and the Kievans would have been utterly baffled by, for example, the elaborately allusive *Encomia of the Apple* among the *progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises) of the tenth-century poet John Geometres; or by the speech of Ajax on seeing Odysseus in Hades, composed by Nicephorus Basilaces in the twelfth century.[228]

Within the fairly narrow confines of the Constantinopolitan literary elite, such pursuits are unexceptional; in extant Kievan literature they are unknown.[229] In Constantinople they form a distinct tradition of writing practiced by a distinct caste of literati. For this caste, classicizing rhetorical exercises provided a training in how to write, and the ability to master the relevant devices was like a badge of identification, a kind of qualification for membership in an exclusive club.[230] But in Constantinople the members of the club did not restrict themselves to such forms. For example, the Nicetas of Serrae who wrote a mnemonic poem on epithets of the gods and iambic pentameter verses on grammar is also the Nicetas of Heraclea whose *scholia* on Gregory of Nazianzus appear both in the *Epistle* of Klim Smoljatič and in Kirill of Turov's *Sermon for Low Sunday*. Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica in the late twelfth century, had held the office of master of the rhetors at the patriarchal school in Constantinople. He wrote voluminous commentaries on Homer, Pindar, and Aristophanes, but

228 A. R. Littlewood, *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* (Amsterdam, 1972), 14–30, 61–102; C. Walz, ed., *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1832), 473–77.

229 In theory, Foma's charges against Klim Smoljatič might be taken to imply that Klim wrote classicizing *progymnasmata*; in practice such an interpretation is tenuous. See above, pp. lxi–lxiii.

230 On the exclusivity, see C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in his *Byzantium and Its Image* (London, 1984), no. III:49–50.

also a series of Lenten homilies.[231]

The Kievan literary elite does not appear to have been so versatile, and this exclusively rhetorical dimension was lacking. The Rus′ embraced the ecclesiastical, pastoral, and monastic tradition of Byzantine writing which draws authority not from the pagan Hellenes but from the fathers of the Church. In part, the fathers of the Church were themselves late classical writers, whose style was derived both from inherited Greek conventions and from the Hebrew poetry of the Bible (via the Greek of the Septuagint). This, too, was a tradition of rhetoric, in a broader sense of the word; a cultivated verbal art of persuasion not restricted to the conscious mimesis of the ancients; a practical art for the saving of souls rather than a training exercise or an esoteric display.[232] In this broader sense of course there *was* rhetoric in Kievan Rus′.

The terminology used to describe the forms and devices of such rhetoric was and is largely classical, and it can be inappropriate. For example, among the specimens of Kievan rhetoric we can find extracts which are apparently equivalent to genres of Byzantine classicizing exercises: encomium or panegyric (e.g., Ilarion, and quite frequently in chronicles); fables (e.g., Kirill of Turov, I, II); "mirrors of princes" (e.g., part of the *Testament* of Volodimer Monomax); *ethopoia* or *prosopopoia* (the composition of speeches supposedly as they might have been delivered by historical persons; e.g., the frequent speeches in the sermons of Kirill of Turov). Exegesis can be said to be a development of dialectic; both homily and panegyric are sometimes called forms of epideictic oratory, perhaps with an admixture of sophistic oratory. The use of such descriptive vocabulary risks obscuring more than it clarifies. Just as the meanings of words are not adequately defined by their etymologies, so the forms and functions of genres and styles are not adequately described with labels devised for their distant and dis-

231 For brief literary biographies of these and other rhetoricians of the period, see R. Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantion* 32 (1962): 167–201; 33 (1963): 11–40.

232 On the relationship of early Christian rhetoric to its scriptural and classical antecedents, see G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 180–86; S. S. Averincev, "Vizantijskaja ritorika: škol′naja norma literaturnogo tvorčestva v sostave vizantijskoj kul′tury," in *Problemy literaturnoj teorii v Vizantii i latinskom srednevekov′e*, ed. M. L. Gasparov (Moscow, 1986), 19–90.

tinct classical ancestors.[233]

We do not know how Kievan writers acquired their rhetorical skills. Most education beyond basic literacy was probably conducted in monasteries, but there is no direct evidence for what was included and for how it was taught. The Kievans had available to them in translation at least one text which defined rhetorical tropes,[234] but we have no proof that this text was actually studied or used by anybody.[235] Nevertheless, by whatever means, Kievan writers did assimilate the skills which enabled them to participate in the tradition of Christian rhetoric. This became their elite culture. It was prestigious, and they were anxious to demonstrate that they could do it properly. They played the game according to the received rules.

The rules varied in flexibility according to the genre and context of the writing. In the homiletic and exegetic rhetoric considered here, the rules excluded conspicuous formal innovation. It is no accident that genuine works by Kirill of Turov are almost impossible to distinguish from spuriously ascribed works, or that the exegetic compilation by Klim Smoljatič is virtually inextricable both from earlier compilations and perhaps from later accretions. The Byzantines also valued at least the superficial stability of form and expression, the impression of timelessness. In modern attributions, anonymous Byzantine works migrate forwards and backwards across centuries just as disconcertingly as their Slavonic counterparts.[236] In creating a native tradition, Kievan writers embraced an inherited tradition one of whose highest aesthetic virtues was traditionalism itself. Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill did not invent new rhetorical figures, or new images, or new methods of interpreting the scriptures or history or nature. Almost every phrase can be traced directly or indirectly to Byzantium. Kievan rhetoric can plausibly be presented as a provincial (Slavonic) version of its

233 For an attempt at such a transference of concepts, see J. Besharov, *The Imagery of the Igor' Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory* (Leiden, 1956). In relation to Kirill, see Stebel's'ka, "Propovidnyctvo," 170–98.

234 By the Byzantine author George Choeroboscus, in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g. Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow, 1983), fols. 237v–240v.

235 See T. V. Bulanina, "Ritorika v Drevnej Rusi. Svedenija o teorii krasnorečija v russkoj pis'mennosti XI–XVI vekov" (Avtoreferat kand. diss., Leningrad, 1985), 12–14.

236 See C. Mango, "Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror," in *Byzantium and Its Image*, no. I.

Byzantine and patristic prototype.

Kievan rhetoric is imitative. But Kievan rhetoric is also individual. Traditionalist cultures foster for themselves and for outsiders an image of timelessness, of outward stability and continuity. The image is both real and illusory. In the first place, the impression of sameness is enhanced by cultural distance, rather as—in the old racist cliché—people of one race initially "all look the same" to people of another race. All cultures have their own codes of expression. Users of the codes are more sensitive to the subtleties of manipulation and variation which outsiders may think trivial or may simply fail to see. In significant detail, therefore, the forms may not be as stable as they at first appear.

Secondly, meanings can vary even when forms are preserved. The literary detectives may trace for us the origins of every element and may prove that every word and image and idea is derived from somewhere else. But that is the beginning of study, not the end. One does not understand a text just by tracing its provenance. Meaning is generated not by the words alone, but by the relationship of the text both to other equivalent texts ("intertextuality," in modern critical jargon) and to the local, temporal environment (context). The semantics of culture change as the configurations of words are translated across time and space, across languages.[237] In literature, as in the philosophy of Heraclitus, you cannot step twice into the same river. Individuality is inevitable, even when the writers themselves try hard to avoid it.

These are axioms, abstract principles. To what extent are they illustrated or justified by the works of Ilarion, Klim Smoljatič, and Kirill of Turov?

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill inherit a common approach to the main tasks of exegesis. In their works all three try to demonstrate the coherence of Creation by showing the inner meaning of external phenomena: the coherence of the Scriptures, in the way in which the Old Testament prefigures the New; the coherence of historical time, in the way in which both Testaments contain prophecies and figurative clues to subsequent events in linear time; the coherence of nature, as shown in the symbolic significance of birds and animals or of the

[237] See S. Franklin, "The Reception of Byzantine Culture by the Slavs," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New Rochelle, N. Y., 1986), 383–97.

seasons; the coherence of words and stories, which can be construed as parables. The structure of phrase and argument is, most typically, shaped by various kinds of specific and implied comparisons (antithetical and metaphoric, metonymic and anaphoric) between the "cryptic" text or phenomenon and its revealed meaning. The world is a mass of signs—textual, visible, audible, tangible—to be deciphered. The purpose of the Christian writer, whether in the form of homily or encomium or exegetic discourse, is to elucidate the signs, to reveal persuasively, through the sense and structure of the rhetoric, the inner harmony beneath the outer diversity. When viewed in this way, rhetoric is not just a stylistic adornment but a means of perceiving truth.[238]

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill accept the received norms absolutely, but they do not copy them precisely. Even where they appear to be scrupulous followers of canonical authority, they are quite capable of modifying the words or the connotations or the form of the received text to suit their own purposes.

The most authoritative of all authorities was of course the Bible. Kievan rhetoric is saturated with Biblical quotations, allusions, and echoes. Here we are not concerned with the deliberate literary development of Biblical passages, like the "ethopoeic" speeches in Kirill of Turov, or with errors, such as Kirill's casually misattributed quotations, or with the ubiquitous paraphrases and semicitations. More important here are those instances in which the Kievan writers support their case with an apparently precise piece of evidence from the Bible, which is in fact crucially distorted to fit the argument.

Biblical quotations are a textual mine field which needs to be negotiated with extreme caution. For example, in his sermon for the Sunday before Pentecost (IVh: §10) Kirill of Turov misquotes Luke's Gospel: the angel announces to the shepherds the birth of "a savior, which is Christ the Son of God"; Luke (2:11) has "Christ the Lord," not "Christ the Son of God." The difference is vital, since the quotation is produced in order to refute Arian claims that Christ was not the Son of God. This looks like a clear case of willful distortion by

238 (Hieromonk) Auxentios, "The Notion of Rhetoric in the Eastern Orthodox Patristic Tradition," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 34 (1989): 45–58; also H. Hunger, "Die Antithese: zur Verbreitung einer Denkschablone in der byzantinischen Literatur," *ZRVI* 23 (1984): 9–29.

Kirill—wholly unnecessary distortion, since the Gospels provide plenty of other authentic references to Christ as the Son of God.[239] However, although early Bibles from Rus′ give the standard "Christ the Lord," some Greek versions of the New Testament give an ambiguous intermediate reading.[240] The anti-Arian use of the (modified) citation probably originates in Greek polemic rather than with Kirill.

Commenting on another passage (IVe: §4), André Vaillant castigated Kirill for his assertion that the name "Bethesda" is Hebrew for "Sheep's Pool": no Greek, says Vaillant, could have made such a mistake.[241] Even before checking the texts we may be sceptical about Vaillant's supposition that all Greeks were always consistent, and that they all knew the correct meanings of Hebrew proper names. The wording and interpretation of the Gospel at this point (John 5:2) are unstable. Kirill renders with reasonable accuracy one version which was traditional.[242] When we look at Biblical misquotations, therefore, we must constantly bear in mind that the Bible was not an immutable text, and that the Byzantines—no less than Kievans—were capable of distorting their sources.

Often the apparently Kievan distortions of the Bible are in fact Byzantine or patristic. Consider, for example, Ilarion's use of the story of how Abraham encountered and entertained the Lord by the

239 E.g., Matt. 3:17, 14:33, 16:16, 17:5; Mark 1:1; John 5:25, 9:35–37, 10:36, 11:4, etc.

240 *The Greek New Testament*, ed. K. Aland et al. (Münster, 1966), 207 (var.: Χριστὸς κυρίου). For Slavonic readings, see *Aprakos Mstislava Velikogo*, ed. L. P. Žukovskaja (Moscow, 1983), 284 (fol. 180c, line 22); *Ostromirovo evangelie. Faksimil′noe vosproizvedenie* (Moscow, 1988), fol. 250b, line 11.

241 Vaillant, "Cyrille de Tourov et Grégoire de Nazianze," 35.

242 Regular reading "ἔστιν...ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρα ἡ ἐπιλεγομένη 'Εβραϊστὶ Βηθζαθά"; translated differently in the King James Version ("by the sheep market a pool") and in the Revised Version ("by the sheep gate a pool"); early Bibles from Rus′ indicate the reading "ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ" ("есть же...на овьчи коупели, яже нарицает ся евреискы Виθезда"): see *Aprakos Mstislava Velikogo*, 24, fol. 11c–d; *Ostromirovo evangelie*, fol. 22d; and the (Pseudo-)Chrysostomic sermon which was one of Kirill's sources, in *Uspenskij sbornik*, fol. 252b, lines 4–6 (p. 412). This reading remains in the Ostrih Bible of 1581 and in the first Moscow Bible of 1663, but the "corrected" Petersburg Slavonic Bibles (1751, 1784) have *ovčaja kupel′* (sheep's pool), corresponding to the Greek variant "προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα" (see *The Greek New Testament*, 337). From "the Sheep's Pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda," it is a short step to Kirill's version ("Bethesda, which in Hebrew means Sheep's Pool").

oak of Mamre (Gen. 18:1–10). According to Ilarion (§12), the Lord's entry into the tent of Abraham and Sarah prefigures his later entry into the "tent of the flesh" in the Virgin's womb. The parallel between Abraham's tent and Christ's incarnation must derive from Greek, for it is suggested by a verbal echo which is lost in Slavonic: Abraham's tent is a *skēnē;* and in the Gospel of St. John (1:14) "the Lord was made flesh and dwelt among us" (*eskēnōsē*, literally "took up his abode in his tent"). Early commentators had no trouble spotting the link,[243] and Ilarion reproduced a typological interpretation from patristic tradition. But Ilarion's Biblical quotation adds the statement that Abraham "received [the Lord] into his tent." The words are crucial for the "tent=Virgin's womb" comparison, but they are not in the Bible. The narrative in Genesis clearly shows that Abraham entertained the Lord (or rather the three youths) *outside* his tent. It seems, then, that Ilarion has tampered with a canonical text in order to improve his argument. But this non-Biblical "fact" is also traditional and does not originate with Ilarion. Even a respected commentator like Theodoret of Cyrus states that the youths (for him they are "angels") ate their food *inside* Abraham's tent.[244]

I labor the point in order to stress how cautious one must be in assessing distortions of the Scriptures. It is almost never possible to be absolutely certain that a given distortion is local and not traditional.

Nevertheless, there are some curiosities. For example, where Matthew (21:43) reports Christ as saying "the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to *a nation* bringing forth the fruits thereof," Ilarion (§31) converts the singular ("a nation") into a plural ("lands") and thus makes room for the Rus′ in sacred history. In the encomium to Volodimer, Ilarion (§65) speaks of the prince clothing himself in various Christian virtues. The metaphor echoes a passage in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (6:13ff.) but with a revealing difference. In the Epistle to the Ephesians (as in related scriptural passages)[245] the metaphor is military ("armor of God ... girt ... breastplate of righteousness ... shod ... shield of faith ... helmet of salvation ... sword of fire"); in Ilarion the clothing is royal ("clothed ... girt ... shod ... crowned ... adorned ... gold regalia"). Ilarion's portrait of

243 E.g., Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron*, XII, *MPG* 89.1053AB.

244 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, LXIX, *MPG* 80.177.

245 E.g., Isa. 11:5, 59:17; 1 Thess. 5:8, etc.

Volodimer as a Christian ruler is lent authority by implied association with a Scriptural passage which in fact portrays a quite different image.

Even when the words of a quotation are unchanged, a new context can alter their significance. Klim Smoljatič's borrowed demonstration of Christ's purity is derived from an argument against Apollinarian heresy. In Kievan Rus′ there was no occasion for real anti-Apollinarian polemic, and the passage functions as part of a different argument on the proper methods of exegesis.[246] And if we turn our attention from direct quotation to paraphrase, then naturally the scope for contextual adaptation is vast. Kirill takes a mildly metaphorical description of spring from Gregory of Nazianzus and (with help from Byzantine *scholia*) turns it into an extended allegory (IVc); or he takes an allegory of the body and the soul and makes it applicable to an argument about an ecclesiastical appointment (I). Ilarion uses Byzantine schemes of providential history but conveniently ignores those which give the Byzantine empire a central place.

These are isolated points, minor specimens of the kinds of details which need to be studied in far greater numbers and depth. The individuality of Kievan rhetoric is in the agglomeration of details; in patterns of adjustment, barely perceptible to an outsider because they remain firmly *within* the cultural code. A systematic analysis of such patterns of detail is well beyond the scope of this introductory survey.

Thus far we have treated the three authors collectively. However, as should be immediately clear both from the preceding chapters and from a glance at the works, Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill differ substantially from one another. They share a literary and religious culture, and they have broadly equivalent aesthetic values, but they do not all write in the same way or about the same things.

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill favor different kinds of rhetorical devices. For example, in his remarks to Foma, Klim uses almost none of the rhythmic and assonantal techniques which are so prominent in Ilarion and Kirill. Instead of flowing elegance, Klim writes with heavy irony and a far more irregular intonation. In exegesis Ilarion sticks to Biblical typology and prefiguration, whereas Kirill and Klim

[246] For another example of the transfer of antiheretical argument into a new context, see S. Franklin, "Some Apocryphal Sources of Kievan Russian Historiography," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 15 (1982): 8–11.

frequently extend typology into allegory and symbol. Some scholars have suggested that there was a polemic between adherents of different "schools" of rhetorical interpretation: the "Antiochene" tradition, which favored literal and restrained, historically orientated typology; and the "Alexandrian" tradition, which admitted more elaborate allegory.[247] However, there is no clear agreement as to which of the Kievan writers should be allocated to which "school."[248] The idea of Antiochene and Alexandrian rhetorical factions in Kievan Rus′ is attractive but not persuasive.

In their compositional methods Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill neatly illustrate, almost as if by design, three distinct approaches to the use of sources. Klim merely copies vast chunks of borrowed material. Kirill takes passages and themes from a limited range of sources but reworks and remixes and elaborates from them according to his taste and design. Ilarion is not obviously tied to any specific set of sources. He has assimilated the words and images of the cultural vocabulary, and he manipulates them at will.

How do we account for such contrasts? Part of the answer is that Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill each wrote in different genres and for different occasions. Kirill wrote exegetic parables, and sermons for the regular cycle of monastic worship. Klim wrote a defence of allegorical method as part of a public polemical correspondence in front of a princely audience. Ilarion wrote a sermon on providential history and an encomium for a ruler, probably for a specific public occasion in church. To some extent each genre imposes its own rules according to its function and context, and one must be careful not to interpret generic and contextual characteristics as if they were signs of a writer's

[247] See H. de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'allégorisme,'" *Recherches de science religieuse* 34 (1947): 180–226; K. J. Woollcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," in G. H. W. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, *Essays on Typology*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 22 (London, 1957), 39–75. In relation to Ilarion, see especially Woollcombe's comparison (pp. 53–58) between the Pauline (typological, as in Gal. 4) and the allegorical (by Philo of Alexandria) interpretations of the story of Sarah and Hagar.

[248] On Kirill (and Foma) as "Antiochene" and Klim as "Alexandrian," see, e.g., X. M. Loparev, *Slovo v Velikuju Subbotu, prinadležaščee svjatomu Kirillu Turovskomu*, Pamjatniki drevnej pis′mennosti i isskustva, 97 (St. Petersburg, 1893), 1–9; Zamaleev, *Filosofskaja mysl′*, 137–41. For objections, see Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:67.

individual manner. We have little material for direct comparison within a genre: we do not possess, for example, any sermon for Easter Sunday written by Ilarion or the letters which Kirill of Turov allegedly wrote to Andrej Bogoljubskij.

However, not everything can be explained by genre and context. Indeed, the very idea of "genre" is troublesome if one tries to define it precisely or to apply it consistently to Kievan writings. There was a pervasive adherence to conventions, but not a fixed set of compulsory compositional structures. Often one will find works which combine apparently disparate generic conventions (hence the arguments over whether Ilarion's sermon and encomium and prayer is one work or many; hence also the clear distinction between the polemical and the exegetic sections of Klim's epistle).[249] Often one will find apparently equivalent generic forms used for disparate generic functions. Some scholars look for a continually violated systemic hierarchy of genres;[250] others see genre in this period as a more or less coherent field of conventional possibilities rather than an obligatory form for a given context;[251] and others would prefer to abandon the term altogether.[252] The notion of genre is useful only if used approximately, without the dogmatic implications of classical or eighteenth-century

[249] Since recombination was common, it was not in itself as innovative as is sometimes argued: see, e.g., Ju. K. Begunov, "Tipologija oratorskoj prozy Bolgarii i Rusi IX–XII vv.," *Anzeiger für slavische Philologie* 7 (1975): 158–50.

[250] D. S. Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury*, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1979), 55–101; id., *Razvitie russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1973), 49–62.

[251] E.g., K.-D. Seemann, "Thesen zum mittelalterlichen Literaturtypus und zur Gattungssystematik am Beispiel der altrussischen Literatur," in *Gattungsprobleme der ältesten slavischen Literaturen*, ed. W.-H. Schmidt (Berlin, 1984), 277–90; for this approach to the "genre" of epistolography, with remarks on Klim, see G. Brogi Bercoff, "Gattungs- und Stilprobleme der altrussischen Briefliteratur (XI–XV Jh.)," in ibid., 97–120; also the same author's "Critères d'étude de l'épistolographie russe médiévale," in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci et al. (Rome, 1986), 55–77.

[252] G. Lenhoff, "Towards a Theory of Protogenres in Medieval Russian Letters," *The Russian Review* 43 (1984): 31–54; also the succinct summary of approaches in the same author's *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: A Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Texts*, UCLA Slavic Studies, 19 (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 16–26. Note that Ju. K. Begunov, "Drevnerusskaja oratorskaja proza kak žanr (k postanovke voprosa)," in *Puti izučenija drevnerusskoj literatury i pis′mennosti*, ed. D. S. Lixačev and N. F. Droblenkova (Leningrad, 1970), 75–85, fails to distinguish adequately between genre and style.

theory.

Generic instability, or variability, did not necessarily set Kievan writers outside the inherited tradition. Byzantine theory was classically rigid, but it is worth noting that Byzantine practice could be variable even in the most conservative classicizing forms.[253]

We should not overstress the generic problems in relation to the works of Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill. They are deliberately conservative "byzantinists," using clearly recognizable conventions. Many of the obvious differences between them *are* quite legitimately attributable to differences in genre and context.

But the requirements of genre and context do not eliminate the individual writer. *Within* each genre and context the writer still has choice and scope. In the way in which they used their sources, Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill do in fact cross the barriers of genre. Whether Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace* is a group of separate works or a combination of subgenres within one work, still Ilarion's approach to sources remains identical from section to section, from subgenre to subgenre. The "Kirillic" method of adapting sources is the same in the cycle of homilies as in the exegetic discourses, even though the style, structure, content, context, and function are different. These are individual preferences or capabilities, not generic or contextual or sociocultural imperatives. They are signs of the work of writers, not products of generically and contextually programmed cultural operatives of a literary system.

Up to this point I have avoided judgment; or rather, I have left judgment to the medieval users of the works under discussion. In the preceding chapters I have indicated some of the range of modern assessments. The range is due partly to inadequate study of the texts and partly to the fact that there are so many different modern criteria. We might judge according to each writer's level of erudition, or technical competence, or intellectual incisiveness, or narrative skill, or poetic eloquence, or spiritual insight, or theological subtlety, or contemporary relevance. Some admire scepticism, others prefer enthusiasm; some are impressed by the perfection of traditional form, others by the violation of tradition; some see special value in elements of "low" culture, others in the consistency of "high" culture; for some

[253] See, e.g., A. Kazhdan with S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 185–87.

the measure of all virtue is a knowledge of the classics, for others there is greater merit in shedding the pagan encumbrances of classicizing affectation. The list could be prolonged. Modern verdicts are bound to be to a large extent anachronistic and arbitrary. The works of Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill are obviously of *historical* interest and importance, central to the study and understanding of the Christian literature and culture of Kievan Rus′. Yet it is obviously tempting also to ask whether or in what sense they can overcome the limits of their distant context: whether they can inform or enlighten us about anything other than themselves; why or whether they deserve to be read by anybody other than historians. I offer some summary conclusions, no less arbitrary than many others.

The significance of Klim Smoljatič as a *writer* is purely local. He made no impression on posterity either in his own land or abroad. As a churchman and political actor he was controversial and important. As a thinker he was unoriginal and, in the *Epistle*, not especially lucid or systematic. He was or was not a "philosopher," depending upon which of the many available meanings one chooses to give to the term. As a stylist he lacks elegance.[254] The *Epistle* is obscure in any language. It merits attention not for the depth of thought or for the power of expression, but because it is what it is: a rare and therefore valuable specimen of public intellectual and theological debate conducted at the highest level of twelfth-century Rus′ society.

Kirill of Turov, or "Kirill of Turov," is a writer of far greater sophistication, versatility, and stature. He was not a man of great scholarship or broad erudition, and he made no claim to such achievements. His more reticent aim was to interpret, celebrate, and propagate the truths of Christianity, initially for his fellow monks, eventually for posterity. His style is sometimes too convoluted for modern tastes,[255] but for centuries the "Kirillic" sermons and prayers were

[254] Elegant rhetoric was not absolutely essential for a "philosopher" even in Byzantium: see the comments by Michael Psellus on his pupil John Italus in E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, eds., *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora,* vol. 1 (Milan, 1936), 50–54; for variant interpretations of Psellus's strictures, see Ja. N. Ljubarskij, *Mixail Psell: ličnost' i tvorčestvo* (Moscow, 1978), 137; Averincev, "Vizantijskaja ritorika," 29–33.

[255] Even Kirill's intellectual detractors reveal a considerable range of responses: Vaillant, "Cyrille de Tourov et Grégoire de Nazianze," 35, and Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 1:73, concede that his sermons have aesthetic power; on the other hand Thomson, "Quotations of Patristic and Byzantine Works," 81 n. 81, calls him

intermingled with those of the most revered fathers of the Church. In this sense he was indeed "the most important theologian from Kievan Rus′."[256] Within the protracted span of medieval Eastern Christianity, Kirill is deliberately and successfully timeless. He tried to make vivid through his rhetoric not just *his* point but *the* point. He uses conventional models for inspiration rather than as objects for critical analysis. He assimilates their themes and methods and develops their arguments from within. He writes commonplaces, but is not coldly formulaic. If we want measured discipline and elegant learning, we will not admire Kirill. His rhetoric is more passionate than perfect.[257] If the Kirillic themes retain their meaning, then the relentless, insistent Kirillic voice is well worth hearing.

The eloquence of Ilarion is not in dispute. He was the master craftsman of Kievan rhetoric and impressive enough for that alone. But, exceptionally among these writers, Ilarion has a place in a broader history of European culture right down to the present. Ilarion is not only Kiev's first and finest exponent of the cultivated arts of verbal persuasion and hence one of the founders of a literature. He is also one of the founders of an idea, an idea which helped to form the national consciousness of the East Slavic peoples, their sense of origin and identity. Ilarion's sermon and encomium are explicitly not timeless: they are inseparable from the "Golden Age" of Jaroslav the Wise and from the triumphant self-proclamations of the Kievan elite in the mid-eleventh century. But the resonance of Ilarion's work is audible and even amplified in East Slavic cultures across the ages.

Alternatively, Ilarion merely applied standard medieval schemes to local circumstances. This is ideology, not ideas; not a contribution to intellectual history, but a simple transfer of commonplaces prettily expressed. Or perhaps both versions are true, or false. Or perhaps the sermon and encomium were not written by Ilarion, and the "Kirillic" works were not written by Kirill, and most of the *Epistle to Foma* was not compiled by Klim. The literature of Kievan Rus′ is not a subject

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"turgid," and for Fennell and Stokes, *Early Russian Literature*, 63, he "dulls the senses." For unalloyed enthusiasm, see R. Mayer, "Die grossen Prediger Altrusslands," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 2 (1951): 241–50. See also above, p. xciv.

256 Podskalsky, "L'Évêque Cyrille de Tourov," 507–22.

257 Alternatively, "[Kirill's] oratorical manner must be characterized as passionless to the extreme; intellectual and not emotional": Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* 1:73.

for those who like certainties. The texts are far more interesting for the questions which they raise than for the answers which they provide.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

1. TEXTS AND VARIANTS

As far as possible, and for the sake of convenience, I have tried to base the translations of each work on the text of a single printed edition. This has been a guiding principle, but not a dogma, and I have deviated from it from time to time. A brief explanatory note might be helpful for readers who wish to refer back from the translations to their originals.

Details of the editions mentioned in this note can be found in section 1 of the bibliographies at the end of the present volume.

(a) *Ilarion*

The "base text" for the translation of Ilarion is both the simplest and the most complex to reconstruct. It is the simplest because all the editions reproduce the text of the same manuscript: Moscow, GIM Sinodal′noe sobr. 591 (*S*), the only complete manuscript of Ilarion's "collected works." It is the most complex because all the editions differ on crucial matters of detail.

Gorskij's *editio princeps* contains a number of misreadings, omits a short section of text, and is relatively poor on variants.

Müller's copious commentaries do much to clarify awkward passages, and I have frequently accepted his conjectures and interpretations. Nevertheless, Müller's edition cannot itself stand as the "base text," for he simply reproduces the defective version published by Gorskij.

Rozov's edition is the first full and accurate text of *S* and serves as the starting point. However, the text of *S* does not necessarily always preserve the best readings.

Moldovan publishes the *Sermon* from *S*, together with variant readings from all known manuscripts. But he does not publish the *complete* text; and his variants are given only as lists, without discussion or evaluation.

Sumnikova provides the complete text of *S*, as well as a translation into Russian and a brief commentary. The novelty of her edition is that she also prints a photocopy of the relevant leaves of the manuscript itself.

There are, therefore, many editions, but no *critical* edition: none of the editors systematically incorporates preferred variants, conjectures, and emendations to form a hypothetical reconstruction of the *Sermon* in its original state, based on all known manuscripts. The present translation is, of course, based on *S*, but I have used alternative readings where they seemed appropriate.

(b) *Klim Smoljatič*

Again there is no critical edition. Nikol′skij and Loparev publish separate manuscripts. Kolesov prints a shortened version of Nikol′skij's text, inaccurately transcribed and with an unreliable parallel version in Russian. The present translation is based on the text published by Nikol′skij (*Nik.*), but with occasional readings from Loparev (*L*).

In both published manuscripts the order of the text is confused. I have made no attempt to rearrange the parts and reconstruct the original order. On the problems of transposition, see Appendix I.

Since so much of Klim's *Epistle* consists of verbatim quotations from other sources, it is somtimes possible to emend or clarify the extant text with the aid of equivalent passages found elsewhere, both in Slavonic and in Greek. I have taken some readings from the *Izbornik XIII veka* (*Izb.*), from the *Voprosy i otvety* attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus (*Vop.*), from the equivalent passages printed by Nikol′skij from MS Kazan′, Dux. ak. 807 (*Kaz.*), and in rare instances from Greek sources.

(c) *Kirill of Turov*

The translations are based entirely on the texts and variants published in the critical edition by Eremin.

2. REMARKS ON ACCURACY AND STYLE

All translation is inaccurate. There is meaning in the sounds and forms of words, as well as in their relationship to exterior things, and the sounds and forms cannot with any consistency cross the barrier of language. This does not mean that translators should give up, just as to a theologian the statement "man is sinful" does not mean that man should stop trying to achieve at least an approximation of goodness.

Such truisms can be applied to any translation. However, the problems of converting Kievan texts into English are more specific

and more daunting. The "normal" translator sits down to look at the original and works out how best to render it in another language. The translator of Kievan texts sits down to look at the original—and finds that it does not exist. The surviving material does not constitute an "original," but a range of hypothetical possibilities. All the extant texts are defective, corrupted in varying degrees by centuries of scribal interference or somnolence. We simply do not know exactly what the authors wrote.

Sometimes the difficulties are eased by the work of previous textual scholars. Sometimes the translator has the odd task of creating English sense for a passage which makes no sense in any surviving Slavonic version. Always the translator has to make choices. I do not imagine that all my choices will be universally accepted. Alongside the more or less defensible interpretations there are doubtless also some straightforward blunders. Following the formula of medieval scribes, I shall be grateful for correction.

One form of choice needs further explanation. This is the matter of style.

Ilarion, Klim, and Kirill wrote in Church Slavonic rather than in the local vernacular. No Church Slavonic is absolutely "pure," entirely unaffected by local habits of writing and speaking. However, the difference between the sermons of Kirill of Turov and a hypothetically perfect Church Slavonic is much smaller than the difference between the sermons of Kirill and the ephemeral birchbark documents from Novgorod. Church Slavonic was the sacred tongue, the language of the Bible and of theology. The English-speaking community in the late twentieth century has no standard sacred tongue. Some prefer to address God as a remote and awesome being who can only be reached through remote and awesome language; others prefer to speak to and of him (or her) in relaxed colloquialisms. In the late twentieth century it becomes increasingly erroneous to assume that the language of the Authorized ("King James") Version of the Bible even has the virtue of familiarity.

I have *not* attempted to produce a consistent pastiche of seventeenth-century English. Rather worse: I have been deliberately inconsistent, preferring most of the time a rather stilted but vague archaism (Church Slavonic *is* stilted), but lapsing into more formulaic anachronism when the context seems appropriate (e.g., Ilarion's prayer or the concluding pleas for intercession in Kirill's sermons).

The translations of Klim and Kirill are fairly literal. Some rephrasing is unavoidable, but I have generally tried to keep as close to the originals as is consistent with meaning in English.

The translation of Ilarion—especially of the eulogy to Volodimer—is very slightly more flexible in its phraseology. This is in the interests of a different kind of faithfulness. Ilarion is a rhetorician, a master of conspicuous artifice. He speaks not just through the meanings of words, but through sounds and rhythms. If one translates just the *words* of Ilarion, much of Ilarion is lost. So I have allowed myself—and the editors have kindly allowed me—a certain amount of rhetorical latitude, to reinject occasionally some of the rhythmic and acoustic effects that are drained away in a scrupulously word-for-word version.

I should stress that this is a very small-scale experiment. I have not added to or subtracted from or tampered with the meaning. This is entirely Ilarion's text and Ilarion's text in its entirety, not variations on a theme from Ilarion. Usually the "flexibility" amounts to no more than the recasting of the structure of a sentence or (very rarely) the conversion of a single word or phrase into a rhetorical doublet—the kinds of devices which would be expected, rather than suspected, in most forms of modern literary translation. The intention is not to paraphrase or to make the translation more elegant or eloquent (sometimes the effect is the reverse), but merely to convey in a few places at least a faint flavor of the kinds of wordplay and soundplay which saturate the original. Naturally the result is still some distance from Ilarion. Ilarion was a good writer, and good writers *should* be translated in many different ways.

3. PARAGRAPH NUMBERS

For ease of reference, I have divided all the texts into numbered paragraphs according to a uniform system. Such subdivision is inevitably interpretative, since our perceptions of a work are affected by its visual arrangement. Readers should bear in mind that the present arrangement by paragraphs is new and has no authority from the manuscripts.

4. SCRIPTURAL REFERENCES

Almost every word of Church Slavonic can be traced to the Bible. Biblical echoes resound through any Church Slavonic text. Sometimes the verbal echoes coalesce into a specific allusion, sometimes the allusion is precise enough to constitute a quotation. But the boundaries are blurred. In the footnotes I have tried to identify quotations and specific allusions; verbal echoes are identified only where the Scriptural context seems relevant or helpful. It is impossible to apply absolutely consistent principles.

It is equally inappropriate to apply absolutely consistent principles to the translation of such passages. For the Old Testament I have kept close to Brenton's translation of the Septuagint, while for the New Testament I have used both the King James Version and the Revised Version. However, Kievan writers used different texts, and their citations from them were often approximate. Sometimes a Biblical allusion contains a verbal motif which would be missed if one converted it into the words of any of the traditional English versions. The traditional English versions can only serve as guides from which it is often necessary to stray.

* * *

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Sermons and Rhetoric
of Kievan Rus'

ILARION

SERMON ON LAW AND GRACE

Concerning: the Law given by Moses and the Grace and Truth which came by Jesus Christ.[1] *And: how the Law departed, and Grace and Truth filled all the earth, and Faith spread forth to all nations, even unto our nation of Rus′. And: an encomium to our kagan Volodimer,*[2] *by whom we were baptized. And: a prayer to God from all our land.*

O Lord, give us your blessing, father!

(1) Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, the God of Christians, for He has visited and redeemed His people,[3] for He has not abandoned His creatures to remain until the end in the grip of the darkness of idolatry and to perish in the worship of demons. For first He justified the tribe of Abraham through the tablets and the Law; then through His Son He redeemed all the nations; through the Gospel and through baptism He brought them to regeneration, to rebirth into the life eternal. Let us therefore praise Him and glorify Him unceasingly, as He is praised unceasingly by the angels; and let us worship Him constantly, as He is worshiped constantly by the cherubim and the seraphim; for in His watchfulness He has watched over His people.

(2) He Himself saved us: neither an envoy nor a messenger.[4] He visited earth not as a vision, but truly in the flesh, He suffered for us even unto the grave, and He resurrected us together with Himself. To the people who lived on earth He came clothed in flesh; and to those who abided in Hades He descended through His crucifixion and the

1 John 1:17.

2 Volodimer I of Kiev (ca. 980–1015); the rare term *kagan* for the ruler, used by Ilarion throughout this work, is probably a residual borrowing from the Turkic language of the Khazar empire, to which Kiev may have been tributary in the ninth and tenth centuries. See above, p. xl n. 65.

3 Luke 1:68.

4 Isa. 63:9.

sepulcher where He lay: so that both the living and the dead might know of His visitation[5] and of the coming of the Lord; so that they might understand that He is indeed a strong and mighty God,[6] strong and mighty both for the living and for the dead.

(3) For who is so great as our God? He is the one that doeth wonders;[7] He is the one that established the Law in preparation for Truth and Grace, so that humankind might decline the deities of idolatry, and might incline to belief in the one God; so that, cleansed with the Law and with circumcision like a fouled vessel cleansed with water, mankind might receive the milk of Grace and Truth. For as the Law was the servant and precursor of Grace and Truth, so Truth and Grace is the servant of the age to come, of life incorruptible. For as the Law brought to the Grace of baptism those who abided in the Law, so baptism brings its sons to eternal life. And as Moses and the prophets told of the coming of Christ, so Christ and His apostles told of the resurrection and of the age to come.

(4) Yet it is superfluous, verging even on vanity, to recall in this work either the preaching of the prophets concerning Christ or the teaching of the apostles concerning the age to come. It is a type of presumptuousness and vaingloriousness to set forth here that which is written in other books and is known to you. For we do not write for the ignorant, but for them that have feasted to fulfillment on the sweetness of books! Not for the heterodox, not for the enemies of God, but for His very sons! Not for strangers, but for the heirs to the kingdom of heaven!

(5) This discourse, therefore, concerns the Law given by Moses, and the Grace and Truth which came by Jesus Christ.[8]

(6) What was attained by the Law, and what has been attained by Grace? First there was the Law, then there was Grace: first the shadow, then the Truth. As a figure of Law and Grace, consider the women Hagar and Sarah:[9] Hagar the bondswoman, and Sarah the free

5 Cf. Luke 19:44.
6 Cf. Ps. 23:8.
7 Ps. 76:13–14.
8 John 1:17.
9 See Gen. 11–23.

woman; first the bondswoman, and then the free woman.[10] And whoso readeth, let him understand.[11]

(7) From his youth Abraham took to wife Sarah, a free woman, not a bondswoman: thus before the ages[12] God deigned and designed to send into the world His Son, that through Him Grace might be made manifest.

(8) But Sarah was barren, and she did not bear children.[13] And yet she was not barren; rather she was restrained from bearing[14] by divine Providence, that she might bear a child in her old age.[15] Thus the secret and hidden things of God's wisdom[16] were concealed from angels and men.[17] Yet they were not eternally sealed, but merely concealed, to be revealed at the end of the age.

(9) And Sarah said to Abraham: "Behold, the Lord has restrained me from bearing; go, therefore, to Hagar my maid, and you will obtain children by her":[18] thus Grace said to God, "If it is not the time for me to descend to earth and to save the world, then You descend to Mount Sinai and establish the Law."

(10) And Abraham hearkened to the voice of Sarah[19] and went in to her bondswoman Hagar:[20] and God hearkened to the words of Grace and descended to Sinai.

(11) And Hagar the bondswoman bore to Abraham a son, a son of bondage, and Abraham called the name of his son Ishmael:[21] and Moses bore down from Mount Sinai the Law, but not Grace; the shadow, but not the Truth.

(12) And after these things, when Abraham and Sarah were already aged, God appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mamre as he sat by the door of his tent at noon. And Abraham ran to meet Him and

10 Gal. 4:22–31.
11 Matt. 24:15.
12 Cf. 1 Pet. 1:20.
13 Gen. 11:30.
14 Cf. Gen. 16:2.
15 Cf. Heb. 11:11; Gen. 17:7.
16 Ps. 50:6.
17 Cf. Rom. 16:25–26; 1 Cor. 2:6–8; Eph. 3:9–10; Col. 1:26.
18 Cf. Gen. 16:2.
19 Gen. 16:2.
20 See Gen. 16:14.
21 See Gen. 16:15.

did obeisance to the ground before Him and received Him into his tent:[22] so as this age was approaching its end,[23] the Lord visited mankind and descended from heaven and entered the womb of the Virgin, and the Virgin received Him with obeisance into the tent of the flesh, without pain; and she said to the angel, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to Thy word."[24]

(13) And when the Lord visited Sarah, He loosened her loins and she conceived and bore Isaac,[25] the free son of the free mother: so when the Lord visited mankind, the secret and hidden things[26] were made manifest. And this was the birth not of Law but of Grace and Truth, not of the bondsman but of the son.

(14) And when the youth Isaac was weaned and grew strong, then Abraham made a great feast on the day that his son Isaac was weaned:[27] so when Christ was on earth, Grace had not yet grown strong[28] but was suckled for thirty years, and for these thirty years Christ was concealed; but when Grace was weaned and had grown strong, then the Grace of God that bringeth salvation was made manifest to all men[29] in the river Jordan; and God made a great feast and rejoicing with the fatted calf of the age, with His beloved son Jesus Christ, having joined in one rejoicing the things which are in heaven and which are on earth,[30] having enjoined angels and men to gather together as one.

(15) After these things, when Sarah saw Ishmael the son of Hagar sporting with her son Isaac and saw Isaac being mocked by Ishmael, then she said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondswoman and her son, for the son of the bondswoman shall not inherit with the son of

22 See Gen. 18:1–2. Cf. also Introduction, pp. ci–cii.

23 This phrase reflects the millenial belief that the world was to last seven "cosmic" days (7000 years) and that Christ was born around the middle of the sixth day (i.e., ca. 5500 *anno mundi*)

24 Luke 1:38.

25 See Gen. 21:1–3.

26 Ps. 50:6.

27 See Gen. 21:8.

28 Reading укрепела for укрепила (Müller, *Lobrede*, § 25, line 28).

29 Cf. Titus 2:11. For the insertion of спасенаа, see Müller, *Lobrede*, § 26, line 3.

30 Cf. Eph. 1:10.

the free woman":[31] so after the resurrection[32] of the Lord Jesus, when the disciples and others who had come to believe in Christ were in Jerusalem, and when both Jews and Christians lived side by side, then the Grace which came of baptism was mocked by the Law which came of circumcision; for the Christian Church in Jerusalem refused to accept any uncircumcised bishop; and those of the circumcision, on the pretext of their seniority, oppressed Christians—the sons of bondage oppressed the sons of the free—and there was much discord and dissension between them.[33] So when Grace saw her sons the Christians being mocked by the Jews—by the sons of the bondage of the Law—she cried out to God: "Cast out the Jews and their Law! Scatter them among the nations! For what communion is there between the shadow and the Truth, between Jewry and Christianity?"

(16) Hagar the bondswoman was cast out with her son Ishmael,[34] and Isaac the son of the free woman became heir to his father Abraham: so the Jews were cast out and scattered among the nations, and the Christian sons of Grace became heirs to God and the Father.[35]

(17) As moonlight departs when the sun shines forth, so the Law departed when Grace was made manifest, and the night's cold waned as the sun's warmth warmed the earth. And man is no longer constrained in the Law, but moves freely in Grace. In the candlelight of the Law the Jews maintained their justification, but in the sunlight of Grace Christians attain salvation. With the shadow and the Law Jews were justified but not saved; with the Truth and Grace Christians are not justified but are saved. Jews have justification, Christians have salvation: for justification is in this world,[36] but salvation is in the age to come. Jews rejoiced in the things which are on earth; but Christians rejoice in the things which are in heaven. The Jews' justification was grudging and jealous, for Judea alone, not extending to the nations; but the Christians' salvation is generous and beneficent, extending to all corners of the earth.

31 Gen. 21:9–10.
32 Reading възнесении for знесении (Müller, *Lobrede,* § 26, line 13).
33 Cf. Acts 15:1–2; Gal. 2:7–8.
34 See Gen. 21:14.
35 Cf. 1 Cor. 15:24.
36 Reading въ семь for въ всемь (Müller, *Lobrede,* § 27, line 14).

(18) For the Jews the blessing of Manasseh was fulfilled, [but for Christians the blessing of Ephraim. Manasseh,] the elder son, was blessed by Jacob's left hand, while Ephraim, the younger son, was blessed by Jacob's right hand.[37] Though Manasseh was older than Ephraim, yet in Jacob's blessing he became as the younger. Thus though Jewry came earlier, yet in Christ's Grace Christians became greater.

(19) Thus when Joseph said to Jacob, "Father, lay thy right hand upon [Manasseh], for he is the elder", Jacob answered, "I know it, son, I know it; he also shall be a people, and he shall be exalted, but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations."[38] And so it came to pass: the Law came earlier and was exalted a while and departed; but the Christian faith, though revealed later, became greater than that which came earlier, and it was multiplied to the multitude of nations, and the Grace of Christ embraced all the earth and covered it like the waters of the sea.

(20) Through Jewish jealously the ancient things grew decrepit and so were cast aside, and now all hold to the new. It is as Isaiah prophesied: "The ancient things have passed, and I announce to you new things, sing a new hymn to the Lord, and glorified is His name from the ends of the earth, ye that go down to the sea and sail upon it, and all the islands."[39] And Isaiah also writes: "My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon the earth, for they shall bless the true God."[40]

(21) Previously in Jerusalem alone was the place where men ought to worship,[41] but now it extends over all the earth. As Gideon said to God: "If Thou wilt save Israel by my hand, let there be dew on the fleece only, and drought all over the earth." And it was so:[42] first there was drought over all the earth—the nations were held in the grip of idolatrous delusion, and did not receive the dew of Grace, and only

37 See Gen. 48:17–20. *S* lacks the words in the square brackets.
38 Gen. 48:18–19.
39 Cf. Isa. 42:9–10.
40 Isa. 65:15–16.
41 John 4:20.
42 Judg. 6:36–38.

in Judea was God known, and in Israel His name was great,[43] and only in Jerusalem was God praised.

(22) But Gideon spoke to God again: "Let now the drought be upon the fleece only, and let there be dew over all the earth."[44] And it was so: the drought was on the fleece—Jewry ran dry and the Law departed, the unacceptable sacrifices and the ark and the tablets and the mercy seat[45] were removed. And the dew over all the earth—faith spread over all the earth, and the rain of Grace sprinkled its dew, and the baptismal font of regeneration wrapped its sons in incorruption.

(23) As our Savior said to the woman of Samaria: "The hour cometh, and now is, when ye shall neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem worship the Father; but there will be true worshipers who shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him":[46] that is, He seeks those who would worship Him together with the Son and the Holy Spirit. And so it is: the Holy Trinity is praised over all the earth, worshiped by all creation: all, from the smallest to the greatest, praise God.

(24) Thus it was foretold: "And they shall not teach every man his neighbor and every man his brother, saying 'Know the Lord'; for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest."[47] As Christ our Savior said to the Father: I confess Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight."[48] And so great was the good Lord's mercy to mankind that by baptism and good works men of flesh are become sons of God and partakers in Christ.[49] "As many as received Him," said the evangelist, "to them gave He power to become the children of God, even to them that believe on His name; who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God, by the Holy Spirit in the holy font of baptism."[50] All that our God

43 Ps. 75:1.
44 Judg. 6:39.
45 Cf. Exod. 25:16ff.; Heb. 9:4–5.
46 John 4:21, 23.
47 Heb. 8:11; Jer. 38:34. Add не (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 102 n. 99).
48 Cf. Matt. 11:25–26.
49 Cf. Heb. 3:14. See also Müller, "Neue Untersuchungen," 53–56.
50 John 1:12–13; cf. John 3:5.

willed in heaven and on the earth, He did.[51]

(25) Who, therefore, would not glorify, who would not praise, who would not worship the greatness of His glory? And who would not marvel at His boundless love for mankind? Born of the Father before the ages, ruling with the Father on one throne: of one essence with the Father, yet He descended to earth as does the light of the sun; He visited His people, yet was not separated from the Father; and He became flesh from a maiden pure, virgin, and undefiled, having entered her as only He knows. And, clothed in flesh, He departed as He had entered: one of the Trinity, in two natures, divine and human. He was fully human, becoming man not merely in appearance; yet not merely man, for in His divinity He was also fully God.

(26) In His life He showed both His natures, divine and human. As man He grew in His mother's womb, and as God He departed from it without staining her virginity. As man He sucked His mother's milk, and as God He set the angels to sing amongst the shepherds: "Glory to God in the highest!" As man He was wrapped in swaddling clothes,[52] and as God He led the magi with a star.[53] As man He lay in a manger,[54] and as God He received gifts and homage from the magi.[55] As man He fled into Egypt,[56] and the graven images of Egypt worshiped Him as God. As man He came to be baptized, and the Jordan feared Him as God and turned back.[57] As man He bared himself and entered the water, and the Father testifed that He was God, saying: "This is my beloved son."[58] As man He fasted forty days and thirsted, and as God He defeated the tempter.[59] As man He went to the marriage in Cana of Galilee, and as God He turned the water into wine.[60] As man He slept on the ship, and as God He rebuked the wind and the

51 Ps. 134:6.
52 See Luke 2:7–14.
53 See Matt. 2:9–10.
54 Luke 2:7.
55 See Matt. 2:11.
56 See Matt. 2:14.
57 See Matt. 3:13; cf. Ps. 113:3.
58 See Matt. 3:17.
59 See Matt. 4:2ff.
60 See John 2:1–11. Reading въ кана (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 103 n. 51).

sea and they heeded Him.[61] As man He wept for Lazarus, and as God He resurrected him from the dead.[62] As man He sat upon the ass, and as to God they cried out to Him: "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord."[63] As man He was crucified, and as God by His power He admitted to paradise the man who was crucified with Him.[64] As man He tasted of the vinegar and yielded up the spirit, and as God He darkened the sun and shook the earth.[65] As man He was laid in the sepulcher, and as God He destroyed Hades and set free the souls. As man He was sealed in the sepulcher, and as God He went forth, leaving the seals unbroken.[66] And as He was man the Jews tried to conceal His resurrection by bribing the guards,[67] but as God He was recognized and became known to all the ends of the earth.

(27) Truly we say: "Who is a great God as our God? He is the God that doeth wonders."[68] He has wrought salvation in the midst of the earth[69] by the cross and by His passion on Golgotha. He tasted the vinegar and the gall, that in tasting the bitterness He might purge the sin of Adam, who had sinned in tasting the sweet fruit of the tree.

(28) And what of those who did this to Him? They stumbled as if on a stone and were broken. As the Lord said: "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will break him."[70] For to them He had come, fulfilling the prophesies prophesied about Him. As He said: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel";[71] and also: "I am not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it."[72] And to the woman of Canaan, of another nation, who came beseeching Him to heal her daughter, He said: "It is

61 See Mark 4:38–41.
62 See John 11:33–44.
63 See Matt. 21:7–9.
64 See Luke 23:33, 43.
65 See Matt. 27:34, 50, 51; Luke 23:44.
66 Cf. Matt. 27:60; 28:2ff.
67 See Matt. 28:11–15.
68 Ps. 76:13–14.
69 Ps. 73:12.
70 Matt. 21:44; Luke 20:18.
71 Matt. 15:24.
72 Cf. Matt. 5:17.

not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the dogs."[73] And yet they called Him a deceiver, a child of adultery,[74] who casts out devils by Beelzebub.[75] Christ gave sight to their blind, cleansed their lepers, straightened their cripples, cured the possessed, strengthened the palsied, resurrected the dead. Yet they tortured Him as a criminal and nailed Him to the cross. And so they were broken: for this reason God's ultimate wrath came upon them.[76]

(29) Indeed, they themselves bore witness to their own destruction: when our Savior told the parable of the vineyard and the husbandmen and asked, "What will the lord of the vineyard do unto those husbandmen?" they answered, "He will miserably destroy those miserable men, and will let out the vineyard unto other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons."[77] Thus they themselves came to be prophets of their own destruction.

(30) For He came to earth to visit[78] them, yet they received Him not,[79] for their deeds were dark, and they loved not the light, lest their deeds be made manifest, that they are dark.[80] For this reason when Jesus came to Jerusalem, He beheld the city and wept over it, saying: "If thou hadst known in this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, and thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."[81] And also: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold,

73 Matt. 15:26.

74 Add: и от блуда рожена (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 103 n. 77; Müller, "Neue Untersuchungen," 64).

75 Cf. Matt. 12:24; Luke 11:18.

76 Reading ня for ны (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 103 n. 76–77).

77 Matt. 21:40–41.

78 Perhaps better "to enlighten," reading просвѣтити for посѣтити.

79 Cf. John 1:11.

80 Cf. John 3:19–21.

81 Luke 19:41–44.

your house is left unto you desolate."[82] And so it came to pass: for the Romans came and captured Jerusalem and destroyed it to its foundations. And thenceforth Jewry decreased, and thenceforth the Law declined, like the evening dusk, and the Jews were dispersed among the lands, that the evil might be dissolved. Thus the Savior came and was not received by Israel. In the words of the evangelist: "He came into His own, and His own received Him not."[83]

(31) But He was received by the nations [of the gentiles]. As Jacob said: "And He is the expectation of nations."[84] So, even at His birth, magi from the nations were the first to worship Him, while the Jews sought to murder Him, wherefore they murdered also the infants.[85] It was as our Savior foretold: "That many shall come from the east and the west, and shall lie with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness,[86] and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to the lands bringing forth the fruits thereof."[87]

(32) To these lands He sent His disciples, saying: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved";[88] and: "Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[89]

(33) Thus it was meet that Grace and Truth should shine forth upon new people. In the words of the Lord: "Men do not pour new wine"—the teaching of Grace—"into old skins"—Jewry, old and decrepit—"else the skins will burst and the wine will spill over."[90] Since the Jews were unable to preserve even the shadow which is the Law (for they frequently worshiped idols), then how would they be able to conserve the teaching of the Truth which is Grace? No: the new wine is the new teaching, the new skins are the new nations, and

82 Matt. 23:37–38.
83 John 1:11.
84 Gen. 49:10.
85 See Matt. 2:13, 16.
86 Matt. 8:11–12.
87 Cf. Matt. 21:43.
88 Mark 16:15–16.
89 Matt. 28:19–20.
90 Cf. Matt. 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37.

both shall persevere.[91]

(34) And so it is. The Grace of faith has spread over all the earth: and it has reached our nation of Rus′. The lake of the Law dried up, but the stream from the Gospel swelled and flowed over to all the earth. And the stream flowed to us: for behold how we too, with all Christians, glorify the Holy Trinity, while Judea is silent. Christ is glorified, and the Jews are vilified. The nations are gathered, and the Jews are scattered. As the prophet Malachi pronounced: "I have no pleasure in the sons of Israel, and I will not accept a sacrifice at their hands. For from the east even to the west[92] my name is glorified among the gentiles, and in every place incense is offered to my name, for my name is great among the gentiles."[93] And according to David: "All the earth shall worship Thee, and sing unto Thee";[94] and: "Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is Thy name in all the earth."[95]

(35) Now we are called Christians, no longer idolaters; no longer the hopeless, but longing with hope for eternal life. No longer do we build pagan shrines, for now we construct Christ's churches. No longer do we slay one another as offerings for demons, for now Christ is ever slain and segmented for us as an offering to God and the Father. No longer do we imbibe the blood of the offering and perish, for now we imbibe the pure blood of Christ and are saved. We were saved by will of the Lord, who extended His mercy to all the nations, and thus He neglected us not, as He brought us unto the knowledge of the Truth.[96]

(36) We were thirsty: when our land was parched and desolate, when the swelter of idolatry had dessicated it, then of a sudden the stream of the Gospels flowed and slaked the thirst of all our land. As Isaiah foretold: "Water shall burst forth for those that walk in the wilderness, and the waterless land shall become pools, and a stream shall spring in a thirsty land."[97]

(37) We were blind: not knowing the true light, we strayed in the false light of idolatry. And we were deaf: deaf to the teaching of

91 See Müller, *Lobrede*, § 34, line 4n.
92 Reading и до западъ (Müller, *Lobrede*, § 34, line 16n).
93 Cf. Mal. 1:10–11.
94 Ps. 65:4.
95 Ps. 8:1.
96 Cf. 1 Tim. 2:4.
97 Cf. Isa. 35:6–7.

salvation. Yet God had mercy upon us, and the light of understanding shone forth upon us, that we might know Him. As was foretold in the prophecy: "Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear."[98]

(38) We were lame: we stumbled in snares of perdition, pursuing the demons, not knowing the pathway to life. And we stuttered: our tongues stammered prayers to the idols and not to our God and Creator. Yet God's love for mankind came upon us: we chase after demons no longer, but plainly and clearly we glorify Christ our God. As is foretold in the prophecy: "Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerers shall speak plainly."[99]

(39) We were as the beasts and as the cattle, not knowing our right hand or our left hand,[100] caring only for the things which are on earth, not caring at all for the things which are in heaven. But then God sent His commandments to us, which lead to the life eternal. As Hosea foretold: "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that I will make for them a covenant with the birds of the sky and with the beasts of the earth, and I will say to that which was not my people, 'Thou art my people,' and they shall say to me, 'Thou art the Lord our God.'"[101]

(40) And thus: we, who had been strangers, were called God's people; we, who had been His enemies, were called His sons.[102] We do not blaspheme Him, as do the Jews, but rather as Christians we bless Him. We do not take counsel so as to crucify Him, but rather to worship Him as the crucified. We do not nail our Savior's hands to the cross, but rather we stretch out our own hands to Him. We do not pierce His sides, but rather we drink from them the source of immortality. We do not extract for Him thirty pieces of silver, but rather entrust to Him each other and all of our sustenance. We do not conceal His resurrection, but rather proclaim in all our houses: "Christ is risen from the dead!" We do not say that He was stolen from the

98 Isa. 35:5.
99 Isa. 35:6.
100 Jon. 4:11.
101 Hos. 2:16, 18, 23.
102 Cf. Eph. 2:19; Col. 1:21.

sepulcher, but rather that He ascended up where He was before.[103] We do not lack faith, but rather we say to Him, like Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God";[104] and with Thomas, "Thou art our Lord and God";[105] and with the robber, "Lord, remember us when Thou comest into Thy kingdom."[106] And thus, keeping faith in Him, and maintaining the tradition of the seven Councils of the holy fathers,[107] we pray God again and again to help us and guide us in the way of His commandments.

(41) What was prophecied about us, the nations, has been fulfilled: "And the Lord shall reveal His holy arm in the sight of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation that comes from our God."[108] And: "'As I live,' saith the Lord, 'every knee shall bow to me, and every nation shall confess to God.'"[109] And from Isaiah: "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and all the crooked ways shall become straight, and the rough places plains. And the glory of the Lord shall appear, and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God."[110] And from Daniel: "And all nations, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him."[111] And from David: "Let the people confess to Thee, O God, let all the people confess to Thee. Let the nations rejoice and exult.[112] Clap your hands, all ye nations; shout to God with a voice of exultation. For the Lord most High is terrible; He is a great king over all the earth."[113] And David continues: "Sing praises to our God, sing praises: sing praises to our King, sing praises. For God is King of all the earth; sing praises with understanding. God reigns over the nations."[114] And: "Let all the earth worship Thee and sing to Thee; let it sing to Thy name, Most

[103] John 6:62.
[104] Matt. 16:16.
[105] John 20:28.
[106] Luke 23:42.
[107] I.e., the Seven Ecumenical Councils. See also below, p. 33 n. 14; also pp. 149–57.
[108] Isa. 52:10.
[109] Rom. 14:11.
[110] Isa. 40:4–5; cf. Luke 3:5–6.
[111] Dan. 7:14.
[112] Cf. Ps. 66:3–4.
[113] Ps. 46:1–2.
[114] Ps. 46:6–8.

High."[115] And: "Praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise Him, all ye peoples."[116] And: "From the east to the west the name of the Lord is praised. The Lord is high above all the nations; His glory is above the heavens."[117] And: "According to Thy name, O God, so also is Thy praise to the ends of the earth.[118] Hearken to us, O God our Savior; the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are on the sea afar off."[119] And: "May we know Thy way on the earth, and Thy salvation among all nations."[120] And: "Kings of the earth, and all peoples, princes, and all judges of the earth, young men and virgins, old men with youths: let them praise the name of the Lord."[121] And from Isaiah: "'Hear me, my people,' saith the Lord, 'and ye kings hearken to me, for a law shall proceed from me, and my judgment is a light unto the nations. My righteousness speedily draws nigh, and my salvation shall go forth as light. The isles shall wait for me, and on mine arm shall the gentiles' trust.'"[122]

[ENCOMIUM TO VOLODIMER]

(42) Rome, with the voices of praise, praises Peter and Paul, for through Peter and Paul Rome came to believe in Jesus Christ, Son of God. Asia and Ephesus and Patmos praise John the Theologian. India praises Thomas, Egypt praises Mark: every land and every city and every nation honors and glorifies its teacher that taught it the Orthodox faith. We too, therefore, let us praise to the best of our strength, with our humble praises, him whose deeds were wondrous and great, our teacher and guide, the great kagan of our land, Volodimer, the grandson of Igor′ of old,[123] and the son of the glorious Svjatoslav.[124]

115 Ps. 65:4.
116 Ps. 116:1.
117 Ps. 112:3–4.
118 Ps. 47:10.
119 Ps. 64:5.
120 Ps. 66:2.
121 Ps. 148:11–13.
122 Isa. 51:4–5.
123 According to the *PVL* Igor′ was prince of Kiev from 913 to 945 (*PSRL* 1:42–55; 2:31–43).
124 Svjatoslav was still a child when Igor′ died, and his mother Ol′ga acted as regent. Svjatoslav's first independent campaigns are recorded in the *PVL*'s entry for 964, and his death is dated to 972 (*PSRL* 1:64, 74; 2:52, 62).

When these reigned in their time, their renown spread abroad for their courage and valor; and still they are remembered, renowned even now for their victories and might. For they ruled not some feeble, obscure, unknown land, but in this land of Rus′, which is known and renowned to the ends of the earth.

(43) And Volodimer, our kagan, born the glorious son of these glorious fathers, noble scion of the noble, grew up and grew strong out of childhood, grew mature in his strength and his might, grew to ripeness of manhood and reason, and so he became monarch of his land; and the lands all around he subdued: the peaceful in peace, the rebellious he quelled with the sword. Thus he lived in his days, and he tended to his land with justice, valor, and reason.

(44) Then the visitation of the Most High came down upon him, and the all-merciful eye of the good Lord looked down upon him, and understanding shone forth in his heart, so that he understood that the idols were vain and deceitful and false, and he sought the one God, the creator of all things visible and invisible.

(45) And there was more: for he often would hear about the devout land of the Greeks,[125] their love for Christ, and the strength of their faith: how they honor and revere the one God in three Persons; how mighty the works and the wonders and signs that are worked among them; how their churches are filled with people; how devout are their cities and villages;[126] how, zealous[127] in prayer, all stand before God. When he had heard all this,[128] his soul was enkindled, and he desired in his heart that both he and his land should be Christian.

(46) And so it was: God deigned it so, in the love He bears[129] mankind. So our kagan cast off his clothing; and with his clothing he cast off the old corruption and shook off the the dust of disbelief; and

[125] I.e., Constantinople (Byzantium). The Byzantines called themselves *Rhomaioi*, indicating what they took to be their political and cultural heritage; we tend to call them "Byzantines," reflecting classical toponymy; in sources from Rus′ they are almost always called "Greeks," defined by language.

[126] Reading веси for вси (Müller, *Lobrede*, § 39, line 7).

[127] Reading прилежать for предстоять (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 105 n. 93).

[128] Cf. the story of Volodimer's conversion in the *PVL* entries for 986–988; esp. the speech of the "Greek philosopher" and the report of Volodimer's envoys to Constantinople (see *PSRL* 1:86–106, 108; 2:73–92, 94).

[129] Add възлюбившу (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 105 n. 99; Müller, *Lobrede*, § 39, line 12).

he entered the font of holy baptism and was born of the spirit and of the water.[130] Then, baptized into Christ, in Christ he clothed himself,[131] and he departed the font in the image of whiteness, a son of incorruption, a son of the resurrection.[132] Now he was named the eternal name of Vasilij,[133] a name which is famed from generation to generation. By this name he was written into the book of life, in the heavenly and eternal city of Jerusalem.[134]

(47) But even when this had been done, he was not yet done with his deeds of devotion; nor only in this did he show all the love for the Lord that was in him. He achieved even more: he commanded throughout all his land that his people be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Trinity be glorified loudly and clearly in all the cities, and that all should become Christians—the small and the great, the bond and the free, the young and the old, the high and the humble, the rich and the poor. And not one single person resisted this pious command. For if some were baptized not for love, then in fear of Volodimer's command, since his piety was coupled with power. And at one single time all our land began to glorify Christ with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.

(48) Then the murk of our idolatry began to clear, and the first rays of true piety glimmered. The darkness of demonolatry dimmed, and the sunlight of the gospel illumined our land: pagan shrines were torn down, and churches set up; the idols were smashed, and icons of saints were installed; the demons retreated, and cities were graced by the cross; and bishops—shepherds of Christ's spiritual flock—brought the bloodless[135] sacrifice before the holy altar; priests and deacons and all the clergy adorned the holy churches and clothed them in beauty; the trumpet of the apostles—their Acts and Epistles—and the thunder of the Gospels resounded throughout all the cities; incense, wafting towards God, graced the air; monasteries rose on the hills; monks appeared; men and women, small and great, and all people, filling the

130 Cf. John 3:5.

131 Cf. Gal. 3:27.

132 Cf. Luke 20:36.

133 Vasilij: the baptismal name of Volodimer, probably in honor of the reigning Byzantine emperor Basil II, whose sister he married.

134 Cf., e.g., Rev. 20:12–21:3.

135 Reading бескровную for бескверную (Müller, *Lobrede*, § 40, line 16).

holy churches, sang praises, saying: "One alone is holy, the one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, amen"; "Christ conquered, Christ overcame, Christ became king, Christ was glorified![136] Great art Thou, O Lord, and wondrous are Thy works![137] Glory to Thee, our God."

(49) And you, O noble and glorious among earthly rulers, how shall we praise you, most valiant Vasilij? How shall we marvel at your goodness, your strength, and your might? What thanks shall we offer you? You, through whom we came to the knowledge of God; you, through whom we were delivered from idolatrous delusion; you, by whose command Christ is glorified throughout all your land?

(50) What is the name to describe you? Lover of Christ? Friend of Righteousness? Repository of Reason? Nest of Charity?

(51) How did you come to believe? How did you blaze up with that love for Christ? How did such understanding enter into you, an understanding higher than the understanding of earthly sages: that you came to love the Invisible and to strive for the heavenly things? How did you seek out Christ? How did you come to commit yourself to Him? Tell us, your servants; O our teacher, tell us: whence wafted to you the savor of the Holy Spirit?[138] Whence did you drain the sweet cup of the memory of the life to come? Whence did you taste and see that the Lord is good?[139] You neither saw Christ, nor did you walk in His footsteps; how, then, did you come to be His disciple? Others had seen Him, yet did not believe; you had not seen Him, yet you believed. Surely in you our Lord Jesus's blessing to Thomas came true: "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed!"[140]

(52) Thus, then, we can name you, boldly and surely, without hesitation: "O Blessed One!" The Savior Himself thus named you: blessed are you, for you believed in Him and were not offended in Him. In His [own] unerring words: "Blessed is he, who shall not be

136 Müller, *Die Werke*, 80–86, points out that this is a formula borrowed from the Latin Church. See Introduction, pp. xlii–xliii.

137 Ps. 138:14.

138 Cf. 2 Cor. 2:14–16.

139 Ps. 33:8.

140 John 20:29.

offended in me."[141]

(53) Those who knew the Law and the prophets crucified Him; but you, who had read neither the Law nor the prophets, worshiped Him who was crucified. How was your heart unsealed? How did the fear of God enter into you? How did you join yourself to His love? You saw no apostle visiting your land and inclining your heart to humility through his poverty and nakedness, through his hunger and thirst; you saw no demons cast out through the name of Jesus Christ, nor the sick being healed, nor the dumb given speech, nor fire made to freeze, nor the dead made to rise.[142] Yet since you saw none of this, then how did you come to believe?

(54) O wondrous miracle! Other kings, other rulers, saw all these things, saw the holy men's deeds, yet did not believe. Indeed, they committed the holy men to suffering and torment. But you, O blessed one, without any of this, you came running to Christ: you understood, through good sense and discernment alone, that there is one God, the creator of all things visible and invisible, the creator of all both in heaven and earth; and that He sent His beloved son into the world for our salvation. And you pondered these things; and so entered the holy font of baptism. What to others seemed foolishness, you discerned as the power of God.[143]

(55) And furthermore, who can recount all your nightly charity and the daily generosity that you showed to the poor, to the orphaned, the sick, and the debtors and widows and all by whom alms were required? For you heard the words[144] spoken by Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar: "O King Nebuchadnezzar, let my counsel please thee, and atone for thy sin by alms, and thine iniquities by generosity to the poor."[145] O noble one, you heard these words spoken; but that which you heard, not content just to hear, you performed in deed:[146] giving to those who entreated, clothing the naked, feeding the hungry and thirsty, consoling the sick to the utmost, redeeming the debtors, freeing from bondage. Even now are your alms and your generosity

141 Matt. 11:6.

142 Reading здравующь...глаголющь...въстающь (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 106 nn. 80–82, 86; Müller, *Lobrede*, § 42, line 4n).

143 Cf. 1 Cor. 1:18.

144 Omit "of the Lord" (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 9).

145 Cf. Dan. 4:24.

146 Cf. James 1:22.

remembered among men, remembered indeed before God and His angels. For God saw your alms and was pleased: and through them you have access to Him, intercession with Him, as a constant servant of Christ.

(56) The words of Scripture[147] lend me support: "Mercy is praised against judgment;[148] the alms of a man is as a signet with him."[149] Or—a testimony more faithful—the words of the Lord Himself: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."[150] Or let us cite still clearer and more faithful testimony about you from the holy Scriptures, words spoken by the apostle James: "He who converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins."[151] Yet if he who has saved but one man receives from our Lord so great a reward, then you, O Vasilij, you who turned back from the false path of idolatrous delusion not[152] one man, not ten, not a city, but all your domain—how great a salvation you must have achieved, what great weight of sin you relieved! Christ our Savior Himself affirms and confirms what honor and glory He has vouchsafed you in the heavens, saying: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father, who is in heaven."[153] Yet if he who has merely "confessed Christ before men" is thereby confessed by Christ before God the Father, then you, who not only confessed that Christ is the Son of God, but who having confessed Him, established His faith, and not just in a Council, but throughout all this land, and founded Christ's churches and filled them with followers for Him—how greatly will you, then, be praised!

(57) O you likeness of Constantine the Great:[154] of like wisdom, of like love for Christ, with like honor for His followers! With the

147 Reading слово написано (Müller, *Lobrede*, § 43, line 10).
148 Cf. James 2:13.
149 Ecclus. 17:22.
150 Matt. 5:7.
151 James 5:20.
152 Add не (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 38).
153 Matt. 10:32.
154 Constantine the Great (d. 337), Roman emperor: granted official toleration to Christianity (ca. 312); as sole emperor (from 324) he established his capital in Byzantium, which was renamed Constantinople in 330. Shortly before his death Constantine was baptized.

blessed fathers of the Council of Nicaea,[155] he[156] set down the law for the people; and you, with our new fathers—the bishops—in frequent assembly and utmost humility took counsel on how to establish the law for these people new in their knowledge of God. He among the Hellenes and the Romans made the kingdom subject to God. And you, O blessed Vasilij, did likewise[157] in Rus′, so that now, both for us as for them, Christ is called King. He and his mother Helen transported the Cross from Jerusalem, and transmitted its glory throughout all their world, and affirmed and confirmed the faith. And you and your grandmother Ol′ga[158] transported the Cross from the New Jerusalem—from the city of Constantine—and established it throughout all your land, and so you affirmed and confirmed the faith. And as you were the likeness of him, so God granted you to partake with him in like honor and glory in heaven because of the devotion you showed in your life.

(58) Your devotion[159] is well witnessed, O blessed Vasilij, by the holy Church of Holy Mary Mother of God,[160] founded by you on foundations of faith and now the abode of your earthly remains which await the archangels' last trumpet.

(59) Your devotion is well witnessed and faithfully proved by Georgij,[161] your son, whom God made heir to your rule after you; who does not demolish what you established, but rather strengthens it; who does not diminish your deeds of devotion, but rather embellishes them; who does not impair,[162] but repairs; for he finished your unfinished works, as Solomon David's: for he built the great temple of

155 This is the First Ecumenical Council, summoned by Constantine in 325 to deal with the Arian dispute. See below, pp. 149–57.

156 Reading онъ for нъ (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 53).

157 Add о блажениче, подобно (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 53; Müller, *Lobrede*, §44, line 9).

158 Ol′ga, regent for Svjatoslav and widow of Igor′, was baptized (with the name Helen) in the 950s. The place and the precise date are issues of controversy.

159 Reading послѣхъ for пастѣхъ (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 75).

160 Also known as the Tithe Church (*desjatin′naja c′rky*).

161 Georgij was the baptismal name of Jaroslav ("the Wise"), ruler of Kiev from 1019 to 1054, Ilarion's patron.

162 Reading казяща (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 107 n. 85; Müller, *Lobrede*, §45, line 6).

God's Holy Wisdom,[163] to sanctify and consecrate your city; and he adorned it with every adornment: with gold and silver and precious stones, and with holy vessels. This church is admired and renowned in all surrounding lands, for none such can be found within the bounds of the north of the earth, from the east to the west. And he swathed your city of Kiev in splendor, as though in a crown. And he entrusted your people and city to the holy, all-glorious[164] Mother of God, the ready protectress of Christians. To her he built also a church on great gates, in the name of the first of the feasts of the Lord, the feast of the Annunciation,[165] so that the archangel's salutation to the Virgin may touch this city as well. For to her the archangel said: "Rejoice, for joy is given thee, the Lord is with thee";[166] thus to the city: "Rejoice, city of faith, the Lord is with thee."

(60) Arise, O venerable head, arise from your sepulcher, arise and shake off your sleep! You are not dead, but you sleep until such time as all shall rise together. Arise, you are not dead; it is not meet you should die, you who believed in Christ, the life of the world. Shake off your sleep, lift up your eyes to behold what honor the Lord has vouchsafed you in heaven; and on earth, through your son, He has not left you uncommemorated. Arise and behold your son Georgij! Behold your offspring! Behold him whom you loved! Behold him whom the Lord brought forth from your loins! Behold him who adorns the throne of your land, and so rejoice and be exceeding glad.[167]

(61) Behold, too, your devout daughter-in-law Irina![168] Behold your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren![169] Behold how they live, how they are sustained by the Lord, how they are maintaining the faith, as you had ordained! Behold how they frequent the holy churches! Behold how they glorify Christ, how they worship His

[163] The cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, built ca. 1037–1045: reading святыя for святыи (Müller, *Lobrede*, §45, lines 8–9n).

[164] Reading всеславнѣй (Müller, *Lobrede*, §45, line 17).

[165] Celebrated on 25 March.

[166] Luke 1:28.

[167] Matt. 5:12.

[168] Irina (= Ingigerdhr, a Swedish princess), Jaroslav's wife, whose death is recorded by the chronicle in its entry for 1050 (*PSRL* 1:155; 2:143).

[169] On Volodimer's great-grandchildren, Irina's death, and their possible significance for the dating of the work, see Introduction, pp. xx–xxi.

name!

(62) Behold also the city, shining in splendor! Behold churches blossoming! Behold Christianity growing! Behold the glittering city, illumined with icons of saints and scented with incense, resounding with praises and songs to the Lord! Behold all this! And having beheld, rejoice and be exceeding glad, and praise the good Lord, the creator of all you behold!

(63) But you have beheld it if not in body, then in spirit. The Lord shows you it all; so rejoice in it and be exceeding glad; for the sowing[170] of faith has not been parched by the swelter of faithlessness, but by the rain of the Lord's mediation it has been brought to fruition with fruits in abundance.

(64) Rejoice, O apostle among rulers: you raised not the dead in body, but us who were dead in spirit. We were dead from the disease of idolatry, and through you we revived and came to know Christ, who is life. We were bent by demonic delusion, and through you we stood straight and stepped forth in the way of the life. We were blind in the eyes of our hearts,[171] blinded by demonic delusion, blinded by ignorance; and through you we saw through to the light, the three Suns of the Godhead. We were dumb, and through you we found speech, so that now, great and small, we all glorify the one God in His Trinity. Rejoice, O our teacher, our guide in devotion.

(65) You were clothed in righteousness, girt with strength, shod with truth, crowned with reason, and adorned with charity as with a necklace and gold regalia.[172] For you, O our venerable head, you were clothing for the naked, a bringer of food for the hungry, and the thirsty you cooled from within; you were a helper for widows, a haven for wanderers, and shelter for those without shelter; you were a champion for the offended, for the poor you were prosperity.

(66) And now that you receive your reward in heaven for these and other good deeds, now that you receive the blessings that God has prepared for you that love Him,[173] now that you sate yourself on the sweet sight of His face, pray now for your land and for the people

170 Reading въсѣанье for въсіание (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 108 n. 36).

171 Omit и тобою простротохомся mistakenly repeated in *S* from the preceding sentence (Moldovan, *Slovo*, 108 n. 40–41).

172 Cf. Eph. 6:14–16.

173 Cf. 1 Cor. 2:9.

among whom you piously reigned, pray that the Lord may keep them in the peace and in the piety ordained by you, and that Orthodoxy may be glorified among them and all heresy cursed, and that the Lord God may protect them from all war and captivity, may protect them from famine, from all manner of woe and affliction. And furthermore, pray for your son, our devout kagan, Georgij, that he may navigate the sea of life in health and tranquility, and that he may reach the heavenly haven with the ship of his spirit unbattered and his faith preserved in safety, having ruled without fault, with his wealth in good works, the people which God has entrusted to him; that he may stand without shame with you before the throne of God Almighty; and, for his labor in shepherding the flock of his people, may he receive from Him the crown of incorruptible glory, together with all the righteous who have labored in His name.

[PRAYER]

(67) Therefore, O Lord our God and King, sublime and glorious, as Thou dost grant to these people, in Thy love for mankind, honor and glory according to their deeds, granting them to partake in Thy kingdom, be mindful also of us, Thy poor ones; for Thou art good and Thy name is "Lover of Mankind." And though we may have no good deeds to our account, yet spare us on account of Thy plenteous mercy. For we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture,[174] the flock that Thou hast newly begun to tend, and whom Thou hast plucked from the perdition of idolatry. O Good Shepherd, who gave Thy life for Thy sheep![175] Though still we stray, yet do not abandon us; though still we offend against Thee, as the new-bought slaves who do not please their lord in all things, yet do not cast us aside. Though we be but a little flock, yet do not despise us, but rather say to us: "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."[176]

(68) Thou who art wealthy in mercy and benign in beneficence, Thou who didst promise to receive the penitent, Thou who dost await the return of sinners, be not mindful of our many sins, accept us as we

174 Ps. 78:13.
175 Cf. John 10:11.
176 Luke 12:32.

turn to Thee, blot out the handwriting[177] of our transgressions, restrain the wrath to which we have roused Thee, O Lover of Mankind: for Thou art the Lord and the Ruler and the Creator, and in Thee is the power for us to live or to die. Set aside Thy wrath, O Merciful One, the wrath of which we are worthy according to our deeds; ward off temptations, for I am earth and ashes.[178] And enter not into judgment with Thy servant.[179] We, Thy people, seek Thee; we prostrate ourselves before Thee; and we entreat Thee: we have sinned and we have done iniquity;[180] we have neither performed nor preserved what Thou hast commanded us. Being of the earth, we inclined to the things of the earth, and we committed perfidy in the face of Thy glory; we gave ourselves over to carnal lust, we became slaves to sin and the cares of the world; we were fugitives from our Lord, devoid of good deeds, cursed because of our own evil life. We repent, we beg, we pray: we repent our evil deeds; we beg that Thou wilt send into our hearts the fear of Thee; we pray that at the last judgment Thou wilt have mercy upon us. Spare us, look generously and indulgently upon us, visit us, pity us, have mercy upon us. For I am Thine, Thy creation, the work of Thy hands.[181]

(69) If Thou, O Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord who shall stand?[182] If Thou shouldst render unto each according to his deeds,[183] then who shall be saved? For with Thee is forgiveness, for with Thee is mercy and plenteous redemption.[184] And our souls are in Thy hands, and our breath is in Thy will.[185] For since Thou hast watched well over us, so we have fared well. But if Thou dost gaze upon us in wrath, so we shall vanish as the morning dew. For as dust withstands not the storm, neither can we withstand Thy wrath. But we, Thy creatures, beg mercy from Thee, our Creator. Have mercy on

177 Cf. Col. 2:14.
178 Gen. 18:27.
179 Ps. 142:2.
180 Cf. Dan. 9:5.
181 Cf. Ps. 137:8.
182 Ps. 129:3.
183 Matt. 16:27; Rev. 22:12.
184 Ps. 129:4, 7.
185 Cf. Dan. 5:23.

us, O God, according to Thy great mercy.[186] For all blessings come to us from Thee, and all unrighteousness comes to Thee from us. For we are all gone out of the way, all together are become good for nothing.[187] Not one of us strives and sets his affections on things heavenly, but all on the things of the earth,[188] all on the cares of the world. For the godly man has failed[189] upon earth: not because Thou hast abandoned and ignored us, but because we have failed to seek Thee out, because we rather cling to these visible things. Therefore we are afraid, lest Thou deal with us as with Jerusalem, which had abandoned Thee and did not follow Thy path. But do not deal with us—as with them—according to our deeds, nor recompense us according to our sins.[190] But Thou hast patience with us, and hast long patience yet; restrain the flame of Thy wrath which stretches towards us, Thy servants, as Thou Thyself dost guide us into Thy truth, teaching us to do Thy will, for Thou art our God[191] and we are Thy people, Thy share, Thine inheritance.[192]

(70) For we do not spread out our hands to a strange god,[193] nor have we followed any false prophet, nor do we hold any heretical doctrine; but upon Thee we call, upon Thee, the true God, and unto Thee who dwellest in heaven we lift up our eyes;[194] to Thee we spread out our hands, to Thee we pray:

(71) Forgive us, O Lover of Mankind, for Thou art good. Have mercy upon us, as Thou dost call sinners to repentance,[195] and at the last judgment do not exclude us from standing at Thy right hand, but include us in the blessing of the righteous. And for as long as the world shall last, bring not upon us the danger of temptation, nor deliver us into the hands of enemies,[196] lest Thy city be called a cap-

186 Ps. 50:1.
187 Ps. 13:3.
188 Cf. Col. 3:2.
189 Ps. 11:1, reading преподовныи for преподобных.
190 Cf. Ps. 102:10.
191 Ps. 142:10.
192 Cf., e.g., Pss. 93:14; 105:40.
193 Ps. 43:20.
194 Cf. Ps. 122:1.
195 Luke 5:32.
196 Ps. 105:41.

tured city, and lest Thy flock be a sojourner in a land not its own,[197] and lest haply they should say among the heathen: "Where is their God?"[198] Loose not against us affliction and famine and sudden death and fire and flood, lest those of unfirm faith fall away from the faith. Chastise us little, but show much mercy; wound us little, but mercifully heal us; grieve us little, but cheer us swiftly, for our nature cannot endure Thy wrath for long, as straw bears not the wrath of fire. Rather be lenient and take pity on us, for Thine it is to show mercy and to save.

(72) Therefore extend Thy mercy upon Thy people: repel armed enemies, strengthen peace, subdue the nations, feed the famished. Grant our rulers to be feared by the nations, grant wisdom to the boyars, populate the cities, increase Thy Church, watch over Thine inheritance, save men, women, and children. Those who abide in bondage, in captivity, in imprisonment, on journeys and on voyages, in dungeons, in hunger and in thirst and in nakedness, have mercy upon all of them, comfort them all, grant joy to them all, bringing joy to both body and soul; through the prayers and entreaties of Thy most pure Mother, and of the blessed heavenly powers, and of Thy precursor and baptist John, and of the apostles, prophets, martyrs and holy men, and through the prayers of all the saints. Have mercy upon us and compassion for us, so that, tended by Thy mercy and in unity of faith, we may together in joy and gladness glorify Thee, our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, the Trinity indivisible, one in its divinity, reigning in heaven and on earth, over angels and men, over all things visible and invisible, now and forever and unto the ages, Amen.[199]

[197] Gen. 15:13.

[198] Ps. 78:10.

[199] The Synodal MS (*S*) continues with the *Confession of Faith* and Ilarion's colophon. See Introduction, pp. xvii, xxviii–xxix.

KLIM SMOLJATIČ

EPISTLE TO FOMA

An Epistle written by Kliment, metropolitan of Rus′,
to Foma the Presbyter[1],
with interpretations by the monk Afanasij

O Lord, give your blessing, father!

(1) I have read your kind epistle, though belated, and I marvel at it. And as I applied myself diligently to the task of recollection, I marveled at your fine understanding, O Foma, my beloved brother in the Lord.

(2) In your letter you lovingly admonish me for my vaingloriousness. Thus I read with joy the letter which you sent me:[2] I read it in the presence of many witnesses, and of Prince Izjaslav,[3] and I acknowledge the cause which prompts you to write. Nevertheless, dear Foma, do not think harshly of the letter which I wrote to you.[4]

(3) You say to me: "You write so as to glorify yourself, making yourself out to be a philosopher." Yet the fault is primarily your own! As if I ever wrote any such thing to you! But neither did I write nor would I write thus! And yet you say: "You write philosophically," while in fact you yourself wrote most falsely, as though I had abandoned the revered Scriptures and had instead written using Homer and Aristotle[5] and Plato, who were renowned in the colonnades[6] of the Hellenes. But *if* I did so write, then it was not to you but to the prince, and even thus not readily.

(4) And as to your distress at that which I imputed to you: God is my witness that I was not questioning your good sense but only

1 *L* (13, lines 3–4) adds "of Smolensk."

2 тако...присланое: *L*, 13, lines 11–12.

3 Izjaslav M′stislavič, prince of Kiev (d. 1154): see Introduction, pp. lviii–lix.

4 восписанную ти: *L*, 13, line 14.

5 *L*, 13, line 19.

6 Во...нырѣхъ. Or "among the rhetoricians" (if derived from Gk. Cf. Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, s.v. "нырь." κυβισταὶ [λόγου]).

writing plainly. And since you have been unable to understand this, you are wrong to bring your teacher[7] Grigorij as a witness against me. You say: "I have conversed with Grigorij about the salvation of the soul." As if I ever reproached or abused Grigorij! Indeed, I acknowledge that he is not only righteous but also venerable and—if one may be so bold—saintly. Nevertheless, if he has not taught you this, then I do not know how you are minded to instruct the souls entrusted to your care. For neither Grigorij nor you can know this. So it is a wonder that you say to me: "You glorify yourself."

(5) Let me tell you who they are that truly do crave glory: those who join house to house and field to field,[8] and dependents and commonlands and woodlands and ploughlands and fallowlands and dues. But Klim, wretched that he is, is free of all this. Instead of houses and fields and woodlands and ploughlands and commonlands and dependents, he has but four cubits of land, on which to dig his grave. And there are many witnesses to this grave. So, if I behold my own grave seven times each day, then I do not know how I can "glorify myself," since I can have no other path to the church but by the grave.[9] Not that it would have been surprising if I had wanted glory. As the great Chrysostom[10] said, "Many have despised wealth, but none have despised glory." But then I would first have sought as much power as possible. Yet He who knows our reins and hearts,[11] He alone knows just how much I have prayed to be relieved of power. And if it should turn out otherwise with me, then that is according to His will, and it is not right that I should oppose Him.

(6) Therefore, dear Foma, I give you no answer. Instead I turn your mind and your understanding to a question: is it not right to investigate the divine Scriptures in detail?

(7) Let us reiterate the words of the blessed Solomon, who says in his Proverbs: "If thou shouldest set thine eye upon him, he shall

7 учителя: *L*, 14, lines 1–2.

8 Isa. 5:8.

9 Omit рече: *L*, 14, line 14.

10 John Chrysostom (= Golden-mouthed) (ca. 347–407): preacher and theologian, whose sermons were among the most widely copied and imitated works in the Eastern Church. The liturgy attributed to him is, in its present form, a later compilation.

11 Cf. Rev. 2:23; Jer. 17:10.

not be thine equal."[12] Did Solomon write this because he sought glory for himself?

(8) Or when he writes, "Wisdom has built a house for herself, and set up seven pillars":[13] does he write that because he seeks glory for himself? Consider what Solomon says. "Wisdom has built a house for herself." "Wisdom" is the divinity, and the "house" is humanity. For Christ our true God came to dwell—as it were, in a house—in the flesh which He received from our most pure Lady the Mother of God. And He "set up seven pillars," that is, the seven councils of our holy and God-bearing fathers.[14]

(9) Or consider the words of David, father of Solomon: "For thy servants have taken pleasure in its stones, and they shall pity its dust."[15] Does God the Father speak of stones or of dust? Is this how you would have me understand it,[16] dear Foma, just stones and dust? No, here God the Father is speaking of the apostles!

(10) Or I might read in the book of Genesis, by Moses, who saw God: "And the Lord God said, 'Behold, Adam is become as us, and as one of us, and now let him not stretch forth his hand and take of the tree of life.'"[17] Must I refrain from reading this on account of my vanity? Yet consider: in the beginning our cunning enemy the devil, who abhors mankind, was unable to tempt man, who is honored by God with mind and speech. So the devil could only find the serpent, one of the beasts of the earth, to be his vessel and his acolyte. And by means of the serpent he sent forth a living voice into the ears of Eve, urging her to stretch forth her hand to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and so to that noxious tasting. And see in what words the tempter urges her and incites her and hastens her to taste of the tree. For he says to her: "If you eat from the tree, you will both be as God,

12 Cf. Prov. 23:5 (with reference to 23:4: "Measure not thyself with a rich man, but refrain thyself in thy wisdom").

13 Prov. 9:1.

14 I.e., the Seven Ecumenical Councils, whose doctrinal decisions and definitions are held to be final and binding in the Orthodox Church. They were held at Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople (553), Constantinople (680–81) and Nicaea (787).

15 Ps. 101:14 (with reference to Sion).

16 тако ли: *L*, 15, line 3.

17 Cf. Gen. 3:23.

knowing good and evil."[18] And the woman was weak, for she had been made after the man, and she desired to raise herself equal to God. So she ran at once to the tree, and immediately tasted of it, and gave to her husband also.[19] O alas, too, for my own weakness, for these were my forebears that ate and became naked.

(11) And consider the significance of the tribe from which Christ, our true God, was born. If Mary was descended from David, then clearly Christ is also from the tribe of David. And if He is from the tribe of David, then He is descended also from Phares. And if from Phares, then truly our Lord shone forth from the tribe of Judah, as the holy Gospel says.[20]

(12) Now, the insane heresy of Apollinarius[21] is reluctant to speak of the perfect human incarnation of our true Savior: as if reluctant to see it, holding that to do so is to impute sin to Christ our Savior. Yet Christ came into the flesh without sin, and took the form of a servant,[22] and became man that He might destroy the power of sin. For wherever God is, there is no sin.[23] So how could He be corrupt [in taking on flesh]? For without sin there is no corruption. And there are indeed many witnesses to this, witnesses who became servants of Christ, witnesses who spoke quite plainly of Christ's body, with no suspicion of blasphemy.

(13) Yet there are some who, in their teachings on these matters, hold this to be indeed blasphemous. They point to Phares and Zara,[24] asserting that Phares and Zara were conceived in whoredom. But in fact they were not born of whoredom, but were conceived, by God's providence, without intercourse, when Tamar had been married to

18 Cf. Gen 3:6.

19 Cf. Gen. 3:7. See below, §21. For a discussion of this and other transpositions in manuscripts of the *Epistle*, see Appendix I.

20 Cf. Matt. 1:1–16; Heb. 7:14; Rev. 5:5. See also below, p. 42 n. 81; also Appendix II.

21 Apollinarius (ca. 310–ca. 390) held that Christ possessed human body and soul, but that he had the divine Logos instead of human "spirit"; thus Christ was perfect in his divinity but not in his humanity. The teachings of Apollinarius were condemned at the First Council of Constantinople (or the Second Ecumenical Council) in 381. The counterargument presented here is that perfect divinity is neither diminished nor contradicted by perfect humanity: Christ was both fully man and without sin.

22 Phil. 2:7.

23 Cf. John 3:5.

24 See Gen. 38, and below, §29ff.

Judah's first son, then to the second. She must have conceived in her womb then, rather than by her single intercourse with Judah. But at that time she had carried in her womb the knot of childlessness in place of childbirth. So, at this single intercourse the knot of childlessness was loosened. And, having conceived thus, she now gave birth to her offspring that was marked out by God. For God is a consuming fire[25] and purges sins.[26]

(14) Then, in the Old Testament, there are God's actions towards Abraham, by which He prefigured what was to come.

(15) Indeed if we were to judge all in the Law, then we would have to condemn some of the twelve patriarchs, not all of whose mothers joined with Jacob in lawful marriage, but, by tradition, only Leah and Rachel.[27] If we judge and condemn all these, then we ourselves would be as gods[28] also. But since the Lord God justified them, who is he that shall condemn?[29]

(16) Then, after many years and many generations, there appeared Moses, who was deemed worthy to see God on Mount Sinai, and to whom God offered the Law written on tablets of stone, bidding the people of Israel to abide under the Law.[30] And when the Law prevailed, much of the previous tradition of the Covenant had already lapsed. The Law established monogamy. The Law set aside the tradition of the Covenant, as Grace set aside both the Law and the tradition of the Covenant. And thus the sun shone forth. Just as the world must dwell in the darkness of night, then to be made light by the bright rays of the sun, so Christ our God, the sun of righteousness, shone forth upon us with divine illumination and enlightened us with holy baptism. And behold, all the old things passed away, and all became new![31] And mankind is no longer constrained in the Law, but walks freely in Grace. For in all things the Law provided the shadow, the figure of things to come, but not the true things.

(17) My words multiply. Nevertheless, I shall not omit to speak of the blessed Ruth, since she also has been condemned, though the

25 Deut. 4:24; Heb. 12:29.
26 Cf. Ecclus 47:11. See also below, §§20, 72.
27 Cf. Gen. 29:23–30.
28 Cf. Gen. 3:6.
29 Cf. Rom. 8:33–34.
30 See Exod. 19:20ff.
31 2 Cor. 5:17.

divine Scriptures do not condemn her: indeed, they speak reverently of her. She did *not* conjoin with Boaz before her lawful marriage;[32] rather she married him lawfully, for Ruth the Moabitess was a widow. And thus she conceived and gave birth to Obed, grandfather of the glorious king David.

(18) So let the mouths of them that speak falsehood against God be stopped![33] For David, glorious prophet and forebear of God, says: "Neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the desert mountains. For God is the judge; He puts down one, and raises up another. For (it is said) there is a cup in the hand of the Lord, full of unmingled wine."[34] And Scripture says: "For who knows the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been His counselor?[35] For He took our sins, and He bore our iniquities, and by His wound we were all healed."[36]

(19) But the Lord Himself was *not* burdened with our transgressions, despite what some people say (whose end is ultimate perdition). Rather He relieved our backs of their heavy burdens. For God is jealous, and will not give His glory to another, and will cut down them that turn from Him into contention, together with them that commit iniquity.[37] For there is no unrighteousness in God:[38] nay, I say, none shall there be! For He searches the hearts and the reins.[39] God is just.

(20) And so, beloved, it is right that we should look closely, and understand.[40] Consider fire, how it is ignited against stone, how it is constituted as it issues forth from wood, how it is nurtured by human, material hands. And as it gathers strength from its burning, see how by human art the purest matter, placed in the fire,[41] is purified. That is to say, if silver or gold contains any impurity (in other words, if it is alloyed), and if it is placed in a fire that was skillfully made, then the impurity is consumed by the burning of the fire, and the gold or silver that had been put into the fire is purified and returns pure and

32 See Ruth 4.
33 Cf. Rom. 3:19.
34 Ps. 74:6–8.
35 Rom. 11:34.
36 Cf. Isa. 53:4–5.
37 Cf., e.g., Exod. 34:14ff; Josh. 24:19ff.
38 Deut. 32:4; cf. 2 Chron. 19:7; Ps. 91:15; John 7:18.
39 Cf. Rev. 2:23.
40 разумети: *L*, 17, line 22.
41 въложеное: *L*, 18, line 2.

undamaged to him that put it there; and the impurity that had been mixed with it perishes, all without damage. Even though fire is material, it is created by God to serve man—man that has mind and sense[42] and speech.

(21) And the devil ran off,[43] as if he had already obtained the victory and the spoils, seeing Adam and Eve stripped of the clothes that God had made. But God came again and said to Adam: "Behold, Adam is become as one of us."[44] This was a form of rebuke to him, meaning: "Where now is the advice of the cunning devil, who said you would be as gods? Behold, now not only are you not as I, but you have been stripped of the honor which I gave to you, and you shall receive the wounds and the judgment of mortality. For earth thou art and to earth thou shalt return,"[45] and so forth.

(22) Brother, what should I make of Jacob, and of his two wives Leah and Rachel, if one is simply to read without investigating according to the spirit? Understand, then: Jacob is a figure of the God of all things.[46] God has two peoples: the Israelites and the peoples of the nations. And the people of Israel bore a veil over their heart:[47] this means that they were assiduous in their faithlessness. But those of the nations swathed themselves in the finery of the faith. Accordingly, Jacob had two wives: Leah, as a figure of the people of Israel; and therefore her eyes were weak,[48] for the people of Israel bore a veil over their heart. And he had Rachel, a figure of the peoples of the nations. Therefore[49] the holy Scripture calls her "beautiful,"[50] for the peoples of the nations emerged in the finery of faith, and came to believe truly in our Savior, and tore up deception by the roots. And Rachel was a figure of this: hence she plundered the idols of her

42 I.e., the "rational spirit" which, according to Apollinarius, Christ lacked, possessing instead the divine Logos. See above, p. 34 n. 21; also below, § 72.

43 Cf. above, § 10, and Appendix I.

44 Cf. Gen. 3:22–23.

45 Gen. 3:20; cf. also 3:6.

46 Cf. τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεόν: Theodoret, *Quaes. in Gen.* 90, *MPG* 80.200.

47 Cf. 2 Cor. 3:13–15.

48 See Gen. 29:17.

49 того ради: *L*, 18, line 21.

50 See Gen. 29:17.

father.[51]

(23) Or what should I make of Jacob's lameness?[52] Why should I care that Jacob limps? Jacob feared his brother Esau, and God wrestled with Jacob and gave him courage, saying: "Thou hast prevailed with God, yet thou canst not with men!"[53] However, Jacob was a figure of the incarnation of God's word:[54] and this is why God weakened Jacob's thigh,[55] since the divine nature was stronger than the human nature.

(24) What should I make of the stories of Zara and Phares? I must interpret them metaphorically. Or is this also vanity?

(25) The story of Zara and Phares is also a prefiguration of the two peoples: Phares of the Israelites, and Zara of the peoples of the nations. This is why Zara thrust forth his hand first from the womb,[56] indicating life *before* the coming of the Law. For before the coming of the Law there were some that were swathed in piety, living not by the Law but by faith. And the scarlet thread was a sign of the sacrifices that were made before the coming of the Law, the sacrifices made by Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham. And when Zara drew back his hand (that is, when this piety receded), then Phares came forth. For the Law is in the middle: so he that was before the Law was also he that was[57] after the Law.

(26) Let us consider Leah, how she spoke, imperfect in her piety;[58] and how the writer who writes about Joseph[59] says "he was a prosperous man." Read the preceding words, and you will find the truth. For it is written: "And the Lord was with him."[60]

(27) Concerning Zara and Phares: the divine Scripture speaks of this. In the first book of Moses, about Abraham and the others, there is also mention of Judah, from whom Christ our God is de-

51 See Gen. 31:34–35.
52 See Gen. 32:24ff.
53 Cf. Gen. 32:28 (actually, "... and *shall be mighty* with men"!).
54 слава, a misprint for слова: see *Nik.* Corrigenda; also *L,* 19, line 1.
55 See Gen. 32:25.
56 For this paragraph, see Gen. 38:27–29; for the full narrative, see below, §§28–29.
57 иже... иже: *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 112 nn. 21–22); cf. also Gk., cited in *Nik.*, 141.
58 Cf. Gen. 29:23–35; 30:11–20.
59 *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 112 n. 26)
60 Gen. 39:2.

scended in the flesh: how Tamar his daughter-in-law tempted him, adorning herself in the manner of a harlot. But let not[61] Judah be condemned for this. Judah was no fornicator. He acted thus unknowingly. Nor, I say, is Tamar: for though she conjoined with Judah knowingly, yet she agreed to do so not for the sake of fornication, but in order to bear children. For Scripture says:

(28) "And Judah took a wife, the daughter of a Canaanite, and her name was Shua, and he went in to her. And she conceived and bore a son, and called his name Er. And again she bore a son, and called his name Onan. And she conceived again and bore a son, and called his name Shelah. And Judah took a wife for Er his first-born, and her name was Tamar. And Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked before God, and God killed him. And Judah said to Onan his son, 'Go in to thy brother's wife, and take her as your wife, and raise up offspring[62] to thy brother.' And Onan, knowing that the offspring should not be his—it came to pass, when he went in to his brother's wife, that he spilled his seed upon the ground, so that there should be no offspring for his brother. And[63] he appeared evil before God, since he had done this. And God slew him.

(29) "And Judah said to Tamar his daughter-in-law, 'Go, sit thou as a widow in the house of thy father,[64] until Shelah my son be grown.' And Tamar went and sat in the house of her father. And the days[65] passed, and Shua the wife of Judah died; and Judah, being comforted, went to them that sheared his sheep, himself and Iras his shepherd. And it was told to Tamar his daughter-in-law, saying, 'Behold, thy father-in-law goeth up to shear[66] his sheep.' And having taken off the garments of her widowhood from her, she wrapped herself in garments of finery and sat by the gates where Judah would pass. And when Judah saw her he thought her to be a harlot; for she covered her face, and he knew her not, that she was his daughter-in-law. And he went out of his way to her, and said to her, 'Let me come in to thee.' And she said, 'What wilt thou give me if thou shouldest

61 не: *L*, 19, line 21; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 112 n. 38).

62 Here and below there is fluctuation between племя and семя (Gk.: σπέρμα).

63 Omit разумев же: *L*, 20, lines 5–6; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 113 n. 60).

64 отца своего: *Izb.*, *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 113 n. 66); cf. *L*, 20, line 10.

65 Omit "е̃и": cf. *L*, 20, line 12; *Izb.*, *Kaz.*, (*Nik.*, 114 n. 69), and the Greek of Gen. 38:12.

66 стрещи: *L*, 20 n. 15; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 114 n. 80).

come in to me?' And he said, 'I will give thee a kid from my flocks.' And she said, 'If thou wilt give me a pledge, until thou send it.' And he said, 'I shall give thee a pledge.'[67] And she said, 'Give me thy ring, and thy bracelet, and the staff in thy hand.' And he gave them to her, and went in to her, and she conceived by him. And he arose and departed. And she took off her garments of finery, and put on the garments of her widowhood. And Judah sent the kid of his goats by the hand of his shepherd the Damasite, to receive the pledge from the woman. And the Damasite found her not. And he asked of the men of the place, 'Where is the harlot?' And they said, 'There is no harlot here.' And it came to pass after three months, that it was told to Judah, saying, 'Tamar thy daughter-in-law has played the harlot, and behold she is with child by whoredom'; and Judah said, 'Bring her out, and let her be burnt.' And as they were bringing her, she sent[68] to her father-in-law, saying, 'I am with child by the man whose these things are: see whose is this ring and bracelet and staff.' And Judah knew them, and said, 'Tamar is cleared, for as much as I gave her not to Shelah my son': and he knew her not again."[69]

(30) See, therefore, how Tamar took the pledge from Judah not for gain, but fearing lest he might immediately steal the offspring of their intercourse. If she had not taken this pledge, then she would have perished, condemned to death[70] by Judah, for Judah would not have believed her words when she said that she was with child by him. See, then, how she sends to him, saying, "Whose is this pledge?" And Judah knew his own ring and his bracelet and his staff, and said, "Tamar is cleared." Thus he, who had earlier condemned her to death, heard that he himself had sinned; and having learned that he had conjoined with her, he justifies her and clears her, since he had not given her to his son[71] Shelah. For death follows sin and condemnation,[72] but after truth and cleansing comes life. Therefore Tamar was justified.

67 *L*, 20, line 21; *Izb.*, *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 114 n. 100).
68 Omit залог: *Izb.*, *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 115 n. 128).
69 Gen. 38:2–21, 24–26.
70 смьртью: *L*, 21, line 15; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 116 n. 143).
71 Add сыну: *L*, 21, line 21; *Izb.*, *Kaz.* (cf. *Nik.*, 116 n. 160).
72 Cf. James 1:15.

(31) And having thus conceived, she bore fruit: Zara and Phares, figures of Law and Grace.

(32) And it came to pass, when the time of the birth was approaching, that Zara thrust forth his hand first, in his eagerness to be born to her. But when the scarlet thread was bound upon his hand, then he drew his hand back,[73] and Phares came forth.[74] Thus Phares is in the middle: first there was piety, and Grace was to come afterwards. Therefore Zara put forth his hand first, that Phares should not come forth. Was this not a figure of piety and Grace? He drew forth his hand, signifying the piety shown by Abel and Seth and Enoch and Noah and Abraham; and the scarlet thread was a figure of the blood and the sacrifices brought by them to God. And having made this sign with his hand, Zara then allows the Law (that is, Phares) to come forth first. And thus Phares came forth. Thus these two were images prefiguring the two peoples: Phares the Israelites, and Zara the peoples of the nations.

(33) See, therefore, how Judah and Tamar are justified: that Tamar did not act thus for the sake of fornication, or because she wished to satisfy the ardor of lust. If this had been her desire, she would not have sought out Judah. There were many that passed by, but she desired to loosen the knot of her childlessness by the tribe of Judah. For if Tamar's offspring had indeed been born, as it appeared, from corrupt and base lust and iniquity, and not according to God's providence, then God would not have prefigured in her offspring the mystery of His great providence that was to come.

(34) Thus it is here revealed how, when our own nature had declined and regressed and relapsed into iniquitous depravity, then Christ came to heal it, and He received it though it had retreated; and though it had regressed far from God, yet He came and brought it nearer to Himself.

(35) For the evangelist writes: "Judah begat Phares and Zara of Tamar; and Phares begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Ram; and Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon; and Nahshon begat Salmon; and Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab: and Boaz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David, the

73 въвлекшу: *L*, 21, line 26; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 117 n. 174).

74 See Gen. 38:27–29.

king."[75] And the holy evangelists Matthew and Luke clearly showed how the only-begotten of God, His Word, our God, Christ, was born of the tribe of David. For Matthew traces Joseph, the betrothed of Mary, from David through Solomon; and Luke, through Nathan.[76] And Joseph, who, as the holy Gospel bears witness, was a righteous man,[77] would not have taken the Holy Virgin to wife[78] unlawfully—that is, if she had not been descended from the tribe thus marked by God.

(36) For this, too, we should know: that there was a law, that when a husband had died, his brother should take as his own wife the wife of the deceased and raise up seed[79] to his brother; so that such offspring[80] was by nature that of the second brother who begat it, but by law it was the offspring of the deceased. Thus from the stem of Nathan, son of David, Levi begat Melchi and Panther, and Panther begat Bar-Panther, and the one called Bar-Panther begat Joachim, and Joachim begat the holy Mother of God; while from the stem of Solomon, son of David, Matthan had a wife by whom he begat Jacob; but when Matthan died, then Melchi (of the tribe of Nathan), son of Levi, brother of Panther, took Matthan's wife, the mother of Jacob, and by her he begat Heli. So they were of one mother, Jacob of the tribe of Solomon, and Heli of the tribe of Nathan. And Heli died without children, and Jacob his brother, from the tribe of Solomon, took his wife, to raise up seed to his brother. And he begat Joseph. Thus Joseph was by nature the son of Jacob, but by law the son of Heli, the descendant of Nathan. And Joachim took to wife the pure and praiseworthy Anna, through whom the most pure Virgin, our Lady, the Mother of God, the eternal Virgin Mary, was therefore descended from the tribe of David.[81]

75 Matt. 1:3–6.
76 See Matt. 1:6–16; Luke 3:31.
77 Matt. 1:19.
78 в обѣтъ: *Izb.*, *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 119 n. 240); cf. Matt. 1:24.
79 Cf. above, p. 39 n. 62.
80 да оубо родимое: *Kaz.* (*Nik.*, 120 n. 249).
81 On these quasi-apocryphal genealogies, see below, Appendix II. At this point (between § 36 and § 37) *Izb.* (fol. 160r–v) has a continuous text equivalent to the following order of paragraphs: §§ 36, 11 (genealogies of Mary and Joseph), 75–76 (Potiphar), 79–80 (lambs and their mothers), 82, 37 (the priests' portion).

(37) [Why is it ordained that the priests should take the breast of the offering? God bears witness that] the following things were manifestly burned at the altar [in place of] transgressions. The fat [and the kidneys and the spleen]:[82] these were offered up in place of their sins. The fat was offered up because of the gluttony of the stomach, the kidneys for the pleasures of the loins, and the spleen for wrath, since it lies in the place of bile. And to the priest, for his part, were given the breast and the shoulder: the breast for the knowledge which God requires of the priest, and the shoulder for his actions, so that the priest should both know and act.

(38) On chewing the cud, according to the book of Leviticus:[83] or do you say it is vanity to investigate this? Yet through this God[84] teaches us how to be pure! And as for the beasts that make a division of two claws: through these He teaches us to distinguish good deeds from evil ones.[85] And through the beasts that chew the cud, He teaches us how we may be pleasing to God: for, just as the beasts that chew the cud, so we also contemplate God's ordinances, day and night.

(39) And the things of the water that have scales and fins:[86] here God teaches us that, just as such creatures raise themselves up, while the others cleave to the depths, so it is right that we also should raise ourselves up with our good deeds and understanding, and not remain with the things of the earth.[87]

(40) And through the birds[88] God teaches us to refrain from covetousness, and to walk not in darkness [that is, in sin],[89] but in light (that is, in truth).

(41) Or: that one should eat fruit in the fifth year....[90] Or does to speak of this mean to "glorify oneself?" I have spoken much, so I

[82] Cf. Lev. 3ff.; 7:21ff. (RSV 31); 10:14. Phrases in square brackets: see *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 121), and below, § 82.

[83] See Lev. 11:3.

[84] See *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 122).

[85] Ibid.

[86] Cf. Lev. 11:9–12.

[87] разоумъмь; съ земными: *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 122).

[88] Cf. Lev. 11:13ff.

[89] Add from *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 122).

[90] Cf. Lev. 19:25.

shall pass over what Numbers says[91] and Deuteronomy and the blessed Judges and Ruth.

(42) Yet I shall interpret Ecclesiastes, which says, "The threefold cord shall not be quickly broken."[92] Here Solomon does not actually mean cords, but rather the confirmation of decisions:[93] for any decision or deliberation, once it is confirmed [by others],[94] becomes unshakable and turns into expectation. This is why Solomon made a parable of the cord.

(43) Here I recollect that which I wrote to your prince,[95] to my own constant lord: "I did not guard myself against that horseleech." The "horseleech"[96] is what Scripture calls power and glory,[97] which will pursue not only the Egyptians but also the men of Jerusalem unto the grave.[98] The "Egyptians" are laymen, and the "men of Jerusalem" are monks. For not only laymen desire glory and pleasure, but monks as well, and this desire will pursue each of us even to the grave. Even if any of us should attain deep old age, even then he will not be able to abandon his love of glory.

(44) Or: "My dictator was weak from the material and immaterial robbers on the way down from Jerusalem to Jericho."[99] The "dictator" signifies the mind. So this means "my mind was weak." And the material and immaterial robbers, these are devils. And Jericho signifies the world. This, then, is what our Lord Jesus Christ indicates to us in the Gospel, saying: "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers, and they stripped him,

91 премину число словес: *L*, 24, line 9.

92 Eccles. 4:12.

93 *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 122).

94 Add from *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 122).

95 Probably Izjaslav M′stislavič, but possibly Rostislav of Smolensk: see above, p. 31 n. 3; also Introduction, p. lix.

96 Cf. Prov. 30:15 (KJV).

97 Cf., e.g., 1 Chron. 29:11.

98 до гроба: *L*, 24, line 19; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 123).

99 Cf. Luke 10:30. диктаторъ: perhaps a transliteration of the Latin *dictator* (magistrate), which in turn translates the Greek term ἡγεμονικόν (the ruling [part], sc. of the soul), a Stoic term frequently employed by Christian writers to indicate the mind in the governing capacities. I am grateful to Dana Miller for drawing my attention to this.

and laid wounds upon him."[100] Here Jerusalem signifies Eden, and Jericho is the world, and the "man that was going down" is Adam, and the "robbers" are devils, since by their temptation Adam was stripped of the clothes God made for him; and the "wounds" mean sins.

(45) I do not think that what I wrote was "philosophy." Christ said to the holy disciples and apostles: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but to the rest in parables."[101] Dear Foma, is this the "philosophy" through which I seek glory from men?

(46) The evangelists record Christ's miracles, and I wish to understand in truth and in spirit.[102]

(47) What should I make of the daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue?[103] I investigate the truth,[104] and it speaks to me, and it is true. What should I make of the daughter of the Canaanite woman?[105] I would like to learn the spiritual meaning. What should I make of the woman with an issue of blood?[106] I seek out the true significance of Christ's words. What should I make of the five loaves and two fishes?[107] I inquire of the evangelist. What should I make of the withered fig tree?[108] I inquire into the true meaning of what is said. What should I make of the widow who threw two mites into the sanctuary?[109] I pray that that widow may be my own dark soul, and that the two mites which it casts into the sanctuary may be my flesh in chastity and my soul in humility. What should I make of the catching of fish?[110] I inquire of the evangelist. What should I make of the man that was cured of the dropsy?[111] I wish to understand in truth.[112]

(48) All these divine things, the signs and wonders of our Lord Jesus Christ, which are related in the holy Gospels, I too have related,

100 Luke 10:30.
101 Luke 8:10.
102 Cf., e.g., John 4:24. Here and below (nn. 104, 112) *L*, 25, lines 9, 10, 19, perhaps correctly, reads прѣводнѣ ("metaphorically").
103 See Mark 5:22ff.; Luke 8:41ff.
104 See above, n. 102.
105 See Matt. 15:22.
106 See Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–29; Luke 8:43–48.
107 See Matt. 14:14–21; Mark 6:34–44; Luke 9:12–17; John 6:5–13.
108 See Matt. 21:18–22; Mark 11:12–14, 20–26.
109 See Mark 12:41–44; Luke 21:1–4.
110 See Luke 5:1–11; cf. Matt. 4:18–22; Mark 1:16–20.
111 See Luke 14:2–4.
112 See above, n. 102.

willingly. And the holy fathers have produced comparisons for the things that the Lord said in order to explain and interpret them. And this is most beneficial and good and praiseworthy. For these things are not just wondrous and glorious, but they also reveal truth, as our Lord showed through working wonders and signs in deed.

(49) Thus: He resurrected the daughter of Jairus (the ruler of the synagogue), though she was dead and had fully[113] expired. And if we recall also the daughter of the Canaanitish woman, and the woman with an issue of blood, and the five loaves and the two fishes, and the withered fig tree, and the old woman who cast her two mites into the sanctuary, and the catching of the fish (found in Luke), and the man that was cured from the dropsy: all these things did come to pass exactly as the evangelist relates, for our Lord showed us His signs and wonders not in parables but in deed.

(50) What should I make of the Samaritan woman, whether she is holy; or of her five husbands, or of her sixth, or of the well of Jacob, or of the sons of Jacob, or of their cattle?[114] Yet the venerable bishop of Heraclea tells me: if you would know the meaning, the Samaritan woman is the soul, and her five husbands are the five senses, and her sixth is the mind, and the well of Jacob is the [spiritual] wrestler after Jacob, and the sons of Jacob are good works, and their cattle are good thoughts.[115]

(51) Is this the writing through which I seek glory, brother? You are greatly mistaken.

(52) Jesus healed the sick man who had been thirty-eight years by the Sheep's Pool which had five porches.[116] [What is the pool, what are the five porches, and][117] what are the thirty-eight years? The venerable bishop tells me[118] that the pool is baptism, where Christ the Lamb bathed; and of the five porches, four are the four [cardinal] virtues, and the fifth is vision; and the thirty years of sickness mean that

[113] отинудь: cf. *L*, 25, line 25.

[114] See John 4:7–29.

[115] бл[а]зии: *L*, 26, line 10; *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 126). On "[spiritual] wrestler" (=запинатель=πτερνιστής) as a particular epithet of Jacob, see Lampe, 1203; cf. also above, §23. The "bishop of Heraclea": Nicetas, author of commentaries on the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus. See also Introduction, pp. lxix, xcvi.

[116] See John 5:2ff.

[117] Add from *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 126).

[118] Reading ми for ли. See also above, n. 115.

all who do not believe in the Trinity are sick; and the eight years—as Solomon says, "Give a portion to seven, and even to eight."[119]

(53) Dear Foma, is this what you call my vaingloriousness, that I investigate such things in detail? I recall again your teacher Grigorij, whom you mention. I am not ashamed to call him holy. But I would like to say, without judging him, but sincerely and truly: Grigorij knew his alpha, just like you, and his beta also, and all the four and twenty letters of the alphabet. Yet I could tell you of men, whom I myself have seen, who can repeat in alphas alone not just one hundred but two hundred or three hundred or four hundred, and as many betas.[120] But consider carefully, dear Foma, one must consider carefully and understand how all things are constituted and contained and constrained by the power of God; and there is no help but the help of God, and there is no power but the power of God. As it is said: "All that the Lord willed, He did in heaven, and on the earth, and in the sea, and in all the deeps,"[121] and so forth.

(54) [What does it mean that][122] no sea urchin stops the passage of the ship in which the wanderer of three nights was snoring? The sea urchin in the sea is a small and weak and lowly creature, yet often it can serve to instruct sailors. For in the calm before a storm, before the sailors perceive the turmoil that the wind will cause, the sea urchin climbs onto a firm rock and grips fast, so that the waves of the sea will not easily be able to drag it off. So when the steersmen on a ship see this signal, then they understand that a blowing storm is to come.

(55) No astrologer or Chaldean, gazing at the ascendance of the stars, taught the sea urchin this signal for turbulent air, but rather it was He who is Lord of the sea and of the winds. For He brought this lowly creature to true knowledge of His great wisdom. For the Lord ignores nothing. His sleepless eye sees all, observes all, keeps watch over all, giving salvation to each. And since God did not desert or abandon even the sea urchin, how much more abundant is His generosity and His lovingkindness towards us who trust in His holy name! For in His great wisdom He ordains and orders our salvation,

[119] Eccles. 11:2.

[120] On this passage, see Introduction, pp. lxi–lxiii.

[121] Ps. 134:6.

[122] Add from *Izb.*, *Vop.* (*Nik.*, 127). On the periphrases here and below on Jonah, Daniel, and the youths in the furnace, see Introduction, pp. lxvi–lxviii.

and arranges all as is pleasing to Him.

(56) So when the prophet Jonah was sent by God to the great city of Nineveh to preach that it would be destroyed in three days, and when the prophet, exceeding his own powers, stirred his anger against the Lord and attempted to flee to Tarsis from the presence of God,[123] then it was that no sea urchin stopped the passage of that ship in whose hold Jonah—the wanderer of three nights—was snoring! "Of three nights," because that was how long he remained in the whale;[124] a "wanderer," because of his flight.

(57) Nor was this the time of the halcyon days; rather the omnipotent power of God caused the ship to toss. For the prophet was fleeing in anger, but the Lord impeded the ship by working a wonder: there was a multitude of ships to be seen, sailing this way and that, unharmed; yet one alone tossed violently, because of Jonah, and it did not cease until, having given up Jonah—that angry fugitive—to the sea, it received its respite. And the sea received Jonah into[125] its billows, and the billows received him and gave him up into the belly of the sunless beast, the lion of the deep, called the whale. And the belly of the whale received[126] the prophet; and, whether or not it so wished, it swiftly bore to the city of Nineveh a good preacher. Having received him as sweet food[127] for its belly, the whale released him again into life, and he preached the word of the Lord and taught the way of salvation.[128]

(58) Thus by God's gift the whale bestowed life upon Jonah because he had repented. And who caused this to happen? Was it not Christ alone, our God, wondrous in glory, He that alone works wonders?[129]

(59) The halcyon is a sea bird. It makes its nest on the sand by the seashore, and it lays its eggs on the sand in winter. And though the land is buffeted by the great stormy winds, yet during that time the winds cease and the waves of the sea are calmed: for seven days, while the halcyon sits on its eggs (this is precisely the number of days

123 See Jon. 1:2–3; 3:3–4.
124 See Jon. 1:5–6; 2:1.
125 припусти въ: *L*, 27, line 28; *Izb*., line 597 (*Nik*., 129).
126 Omit 2nd китово: *L*, 28, line 1; *Izb*., line 599 (*Nik*., 129).
127 сладкоядьна: *Izb*., line 600 (*Nik*., 129).
128 See Jon. 2:11ff.
129 Cf. Pss. 76:14; 135:4.

in which the eggs are hatched); and for another seven days, while the chicks need to be reared so that they can grow. So God in His great munificence has granted this period of calm to the young creature at the time of its birth and growth. And sailors know of this and call this period "the halcyon days."

(60) This is for our edification, that we may ask good and useful things from God, so as to obtain and receive salvation.[130] And since God thus provides and ordains for dumb creatures, then what glorious things will He not do for our own sakes, we who were created according to God's image and likeness,[131] seeing that for the sake of a tiny bird the great and awesome sea is thus restrained in the middle of winter and bidden to be calm!

(61) Did the salamander of Probana extinguish the furnace heated forty-nine-fold in Baghdad for them that made of all the world a choir?[132]

(62) The salamander is a small animal, and it lives in inner India. Inner India [is called Probana, which is the peak of India][133] or Mesogaia. There, in the mountains, lives this small animal which is called the salamander. And God has so ordained its nature that, if it is cast into a fiery furnace, then the flame is extinguished by it, while it remains itself unharmed. And the writer speaks also of "the furnace heated forty-nine-fold": this is the furnace of Babylon which the iniquitous king, evil beyond all the earth, had kindled when he made and set up the golden image which the God-bearing youths refused to worship. Then that impious king ordered that the furnace be heated seven times seven times; and when we add seven seven times we obtain forty-nine. Yet those youths were not consumed in this great fire, for the cool spirit shone upon them and turned the flame to dew.[134]

(63) So no salamander extinguished the furnace of Baghdad—that is, the furnace of Babylon—but the all-powerful Angel of God, which is Christ our God, the only-begotten Son of the Father, cooled those faithful youths in the midst of the flames and saved them by His divine will. And that impious king was granted, as it were, the gift of

130 A corrupt sentence: cf. *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 130).
131 Cf. Gen. 1:26–27.
132 See Introduction, pp. lxvi–lxviii.
133 Add from *Izb.*, line 631 (*Nik.*, 131).
134 See Dan. 3.

prophecy, for he saw the Angel of God in the furnace. He said to the nobles: "Did we not cast [three][135] men into the furnace?" And they all said as if with one voice: "O king, may you live forever, indeed there were three." Then the king said: "I see four, and the appearance of the fourth is like the Son of God."[136]

(64) O how great is Your care and lovingkindness for mankind, O Christ! Not only did You save the youths, but You also performed another wonder: You consumed the Chaldeans with the fire.[137] Yet in this also You revealed the mystery of the Virgin, which was to come to pass at Your birth. For previously You had manifested the mystery of the Virgin to Moses, who saw God in the burning bush;[138] and here in the furnace You prefigured the virgin womb of Your mother, which was not consumed when at Your own behest You were to be changed into Your earthly figure, O Lover of Mankind!

(65) Nor did idle words make timid[139] the Assyrian beasts of that sorcerer who was granted a vision of God.

(66) "Idle words" are magic incantations. For some magicians can often tame wild dogs and beasts by their magic arts. But when Daniel was then cast into the den with the beasts, no magic skills or sorcery stopped the mouths of the Assyrian beasts[140] —for the prophet was not such a man—but rather the almighty and omnipotent power of God made them as lambs to the prophet.[141]

(67) Nor was it the griffen of Alexander's flight through the air which speedily brought, from the Egyptian harvest to the Chaldean den, a prophet to feed a prophet.[142]

(68) The griffen is the ossifrage of the Hellenic writings concerning Alexander's flight through the air. But when Habbakuk was coming from Egypt to the reapers, bringing them food, then he was not taken up by a griffen—that is, by an ossifrage—but by the power of God sent from above: for an angel carried that prophet speedily, that he might see the place and the woes of the other prophet and sate

135 Add from *L*, 26, line 11; *Izb.*, line 657 (*Nik.*, 132)

136 Cf. Dan. 3:24–25.

137 See Dan. 3:20–22.

138 See Exod. 3:2ff.

139 устыдетися: *Izb.*, line 670 (*Nik.*, 132); cf. *L*, 29, line 21.

140 See Dan. 6:16–22.

141 акы овце техъ пророку показа: *Izb.*, line 681 (cf. *Nik.*, 133).

142 Add пророка: *Izb.*, line 683 (*Nik.*, 133).

his soul that was hungry and thirsty. Thus the prophet was sent food in abundance with another who was also called a prophet.[143]

(69) If I were to write down each of these stories one by one, then an age would pass in the telling of them.

(70) Thus: it was not the time of the birth and growth of the halcyon, charming that seven-fold period, that calmed the Parthenian billows when with his weeping the youth amazed them that sailed with him.[144]

(71) When the great Gregory the Theologian was sailing to Athens as a young man, wishing to study the writings of the Athenians, and suddenly a stormy wind arose, and the sea became turbulent, so that the ship was tossed and all despaired of their lives, then the young Gregory wept and cried out, such that all the people on the ship were amazed, and they were instantly released from the wrath of Poseidon.[145]

(72) Man is honored by God. God purifies matter with matter.[146]

(73) And if we, as God's creatures, do as we please with other creatures created by God, then, dearly beloved, above all we should contemplate God, whose counsel and wisdom our mind cannot fully comprehend: not only *our* mind, but also the holy angels, the archangels, and all the heavenly hosts. Surely, therefore, it is right that God does as He pleases with the creatures created by Him, to guide His nobly named ship? And surely it is wrong for us to oppose His providence.

(74) Let us therefore glorify Him and give thanks to Him that we have received the Law and the Grace of the holy Scriptures from our common Ruler and Lord Jesus Christ, Savior and Master of our souls, and from His holy and divine apostles, by His gift and by His grace and by the power of the Spirit. And, dearly beloved, let us hold steadfastly to the hope that lies before us, deviating neither to the right nor to the left, that we may not sink to the very depths of perdition,

143 Add другъмь: *Izb.*, line 961 (*Nik*, 133). See Bel and Dragon 35–39, on Habbakuk miraculously bringing food to Daniel.

144 ни…потваряя…пловущая: *Izb.* (*Nik.*, 133); cf. *L*, 30, lines 11–12.

145 For the continuation, see below, §§83–84, and n. 154. Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), one of the Cappadocian Fathers. This storm on the way from Alexandria to Athens is described in Gregory's own writings: see *MPG* 35.124.

146 вѣщь: *L*, 30, line 17. Cf. above, §20.

but may come to the true and worthy sanctuary of the Church, and thus attain the heavenly light in the kingdom to come, the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom glory together with the eternal Father and the pure and holy and life-giving Spirit, now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen.[147]

* * *

(75) What should I make of Potiphar the eunuch, who bought Joseph?[148] If he was a eunuch, how was it that he had a wife? This I seek to know.

(76) He had a wife to look after the daily matters of his household. This is why she lusted after Joseph, because of Potiphar's deficiency as a man.

(77) And what of the quails that rotted before morning during the exodus from Egypt?[149] Perhaps you can tell me why this is? Or would I "glorify myself."

(78) It was because the law was broken. God had brought [the Israelites] to live their lives free [of care for the morrow], that they would receive such food as they needed. But they did not believe, and they gathered more than their daily food, and therefore it stank.

(79) It is said: "Thou shalt not boil a lamb in his mother's milk."[150] Do you bid me not to study this on account of the "glory."

(80) The custom of boiling a lamb in the milk of its mother might signify boiling the mother also. So the law condemns bringing the mother as an offering to God together with her offspring.

(81) I am truly surprised, brother, if this is how Grigorij taught[151] you: if he did not let you investigate[152] such things. Indeed, I am surprised.

147 This would seem to be the "natural" ending, although both *Nik.* and *L* continue without a break. On the relationship of the following paragraphs to the rest of the text, see notes ad loc., and below, Appendix I.

148 See Gen. 39 ("eunuch" in Septuagint only). In *Izb.* (fol. 160r–v) the texts of §§ 75–76, 79–80, 82 form a continuous text, following the genealogies of Joseph and Mary (§§ 36 and 11) and directly preceding the text of § 37 above: see above, n. 81.

149 See Exod. 16:13; Num. 11:31–33. In *Izb.*, fol. 137v (and Theodoret), this commentary refers to the manna, not the quails. Cf. *Nik.* 135.

150 Deut. 14:21.

151 училъ: *L*, 31, line 18.

152 выкнути: *L*, 31, line 19.

(82) Or do you know why the priests take the breasts?[153]

(83) "And they were instantly released from the wrath of Poseidon":[154] that is, from the sea. "And thus he brought them to rest by gentle Demeter": that is, by the calm and gentle earth, since "Demeter" means the earth.

(84) "He spoke deep things in deep old age": because in his deep and extreme old age he wrote sixteen homilies which are wondrous and praiseworthy. Yet because the sayings in them are cryptic, they are not among the traditional readings in church, despite the depth and great profundity of their meaning.

[153] Above, § 37.

[154] §§ 83–84: see above, §§ 70–71. These passages on Gregory of Nazianzus ("the Theologian") form a continuous text in *Izb.*, fol. 167r–v. The "sixteen homilies" are those on which Nicetas of Heraclea wrote commentaries.

KIRIL OF TUROV

I: On the Lame and the Blind

A Parable by the monk Kirill
concerning man's body and soul,
and concerning transgression against God's commandments,
and on the resurrection of man's body,
and on the judgment that is to come, and on the torment

O Lord, give your blessing, father!

(1) It is good and most profitable, brethren, that we should comprehend the teachings of the divine Scriptures. For such an understanding chastens the soul, inclines the mind to humility, stirs the heart to strive for virtue, fills man with gratitude, leads one's thoughts heavenwards to the promises of our Lord, fortifies the body for labors of the spirit, makes one spurn this life, its fame and its wealth, and relieves all the mundane cares of this world. Therefore, I entreat you, be diligent and assiduous in reading the sacred books, so that, nourished by God's words, you may nurture your desire for the ineffable blessings of the age to come. For the blessings of the age to come, though they are invisible, yet they are immovable and firm, eternal and endless.

(2) And let us not merely speak what is written, running over it with the tongue; but rather let us discern and absorb what is written, and endeavor to perform it in deed. Sweet is the honeycomb, and sugar is good; but understanding the books is better than both, for the books are treasure houses of eternal life. If in this life a man were to discover earthly treasure, then even if he were not to venture to take it all, but were to take only a single precious stone, still he is already carefree and sated, for he has wealth to the end of his life.[1] Even thus, a man who has discovered the treasure of the sacred books, a man who has found through his understanding the true meaning of the words of the prophets and the psalms and the apostles and of the words of

[1] Cf. Matt. 6:20; 13:44–46.

salvation of our Savior Christ Himself—such a man helps to bring about salvation not for himself alone but also for the many others who hearken to him. In such a man is made manifest the Gospel parable which says: "Every bookman who has been instructed concerning the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man who is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old."[2] But if in his vainglorious solicitude for the great he neglects the lesser and insolently conceals the lord's coins and does not give them to the traders in this life so as to double the king's silver (that is, human souls), then the Lord will see his proud mind and will take his talent from him.[3] For the Lord spurns the proud man, but He gives grace to the meek.

(3) Thus, if in their diligence the rulers of this world and men who labor in worldly affairs require instruction from the books, then how much more is it incumbent upon *us* [as monks] to study the books and to seek out with all our hearts[4] the written testimonies of God's words concerning the salvation of our souls!

(4) Yet my dull mind toils, poor in its understanding, unable to express the words in their proper order: like a blind bowman held to ridicule, unable to hit the target. So let my untaught tongue not stir unprompted; but, drawing from the divine Scriptures, in great trepidation, let us try to discourse upon the words of the Gospel, and to interpret the Lord's parable which Matthew recorded for the Church.

(5) *INCIPIT*: The Lord said: There was a certain man that was a householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round with a fence, and digged a wine press in it,[5] and made a gateway for it, but did not close the entrance to it. And when he departed for his house, he said: "Whom shall I leave as a guard for my vineyard? If I leave any from among the slaves that serve me, then they, knowing my leniency, will squander my goods. Therefore I shall do thus: I shall set at the gateway a lame man, and with him a blind man. Then if any from among my enemies should conceive a desire to plunder my vineyard, the lame man sees him and the blind man senses him. But if either of these two—the lame or the blind—should conceive a desire

2 Matt. 13:52.

3 Cf. Matt. 25:14–30; Luke 19:12–24.

4 Omit их: Eremin, "Nasledie" 12:341 n. 34.

5 Matt. 21:33.

to enter the vineyard, then the lame man lacks the legs to walk inside, while if the blind man enters he will be lost and will stumble to his death in the gulleys." And so he set them at the gateway and gave them rule over all that was outside, and he gave them food and clothing without toil. "Only," he said, "do not touch, without my bidding, that which is within." And thus he departed, telling them that he would return in time and promising them that they would receive their reward for their watch; but he threatened them with torment should they transgress his command.

(6) But here let us leave the narration and hearken again to the word of the Gospel, offering verbal fruit on the mental table of your eye.

(7) *EXPLICIT*: "The man that was a householder" is the all-seeing and almighty God, who with His word created all things visible and invisible.[6] And He is called "a householder" because, according to Scripture, He has more than just His house alone. The Prophet says: "The heavens are Thine and the earth is Thine; the world and the fullness thereof, Thou hast founded them."[7] And again: "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool."[8] And Moses relates that half of the waters are beneath the firmament,[9] while David tells of "water that is above the heavens."[10] Yet if you look into the Scriptures you must understand that the houses of God are in all places: not only in His created world, but also in men. For He said: "I will dwell in them."[11] And thus it was: He descended and dwelt in man's flesh and raised it from earth to the heavens; so that man's flesh is God's throne, and His throne is in the highest heaven.

(8) "And he planted a vineyard": the "vineyard" is the Garden of Paradise, for such was His work. As it is written: "And God planted a garden in Eden."[12]

(9) "And he hedged it round with a fence": the "fence" is the fear of God. For "in the fear of God," says the Prophet, "the earth quakes, rocks are rent, all living things tremble, mountains smoke,

6 Cf. Col. 1:16.
7 Ps. 88:11 (RSV).
8 Isa. 66:1.
9 Cf. Gen. 1:7.
10 Ps. 148:4.
11 2 Cor. 6:16.
12 Cf. Gen. 2:8.

celestial beacons obediently serve, clouds and creatures of the air do His bidding."[13] The fence, therefore, is the law. For God's commandment is law unto all things. As it is said: "Thou hast set a boundary which they shall not pass, neither shall they turn again."[14]

(10) "And he left an entrance": this "entrance" is the witness which brings understanding. For all creation does *not* transgress against God's bidding. As it is said: "All wait on Thee, to give them their food in due season."[15] And the "food" is not victuals alone, but is God's word, which nourishes His creation. For Moses says: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God."[16]

(11) "The unclosed gateway" is the wondrous ordering of God's creation, in which lies the knowledge of God's nature. As it is said: "Know the Creator by His creation."[17] But you must understand that this means not His quality but His magnitude and might, the glory and the grace which He creates in His care for the high and the low, for the visible and the invisible. Thus when Christ is called man, it is not in figure but in manner: man does not have the merest likeness of God. Scripture does not hesitate to call angels "men"; but in word, not in likeness. Some are misled when they hear from Moses that, "God said: 'Let us make man according to our image and likeness.'"[18] Lacking a proper understanding, they ascribe a body to Him who is without flesh. This is heresy: the heresy of those who even now still speak of God as having human form. God can be neither described nor circumscribed.

(12) But enough of such things. I return to the narration.

(13) "When he departed for his house, he said, 'Whom shall I leave to guard my labors?'" This question of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit concerns not creation but the master of creation: the master to whom God intended to entrust the earth and to make subservient every living creature. For God did not subject the universe to be ruled by the angels!

13 Cf. Exod. 19:18; Ps. 103:32; Nah. 1:5–6; Matt. 27:51.
14 Ps. 103:9.
15 Ps. 103:27.
16 Deut. 8:3.
17 Cf. Rom. 1:19–20.
18 Gen. 1:26.

(14) And he said: "I shall leave at the gateway a lame man, and with him a blind man." Who are they, the lame and the blind? The lame is the human body, and the blind is the soul. First God created Adam's soulless body, then the soul. As Scripture says, after the creation of the body God "breathed upon his face the breath of life."[19] Hence the body without the soul is lame: it is called not a man but a corpse.

(15) Here we must heed and understand the book of Genesis. God created the body *outside* the Garden; and He brought it into Eden, not into the Garden of Paradise. Eden means "food."[20] Just as a man who gives a feast first prepares food in abundance and only then brings in his guest, so God first prepared Eden as man's dwelling-place, not the Garden of Paradise. For the Garden is a sacred place, like the sanctuary in a church. The church itself is accessible to all, for the church is our mother who in baptism delivers us all, and who nourishes without toil all who live therein, and who clothes and delights all that dwell therein. As the Prophet says: "Behold, they that serve the church shall eat and be fed";[21] and "O ye children of the church, who suck from her breasts the fat and the oil, anoint your heads with delight!"[22] And David says: "They shall be fully satisfied with the fatness of Thine house, and Thou shalt cause them to drink of the full stream of Thy delights."[23] And then, concerning the clothing of priests and the habits of monks, "Thy priests, Lord, shall clothe themselves with righteousness,"[24] and so forth. And for the monk: "You have dressed me in poor and ill-fitting garb, and have clothed me with salvation and girded me with delight."[25] And it is said, "Sing a new song to the Lord,"[26] referring to the praises sung to Him in churches by His holy men.

(16) The meaning, then, is manifest: from the clergy the bishop, from the monastery the monk. Understand, therefore, that the

19 Gen. 2:7.

20 Here, and subsequently, deriving from the Greek τροφή rather than τρυφή (= delight).

21 Cf. Ps. 131:16.

22 Cf. Ps. 62:5; Ps. 44:7.

23 Ps. 35:8.

24 Ps. 131:9.

25 Cf. Isa. 61:10.

26 Cf. Ps. 32:3.

bishophric and monastery are "Eden," or life without toil. And the holy sanctuary is the *Garden* of Eden: not lightly to be entered, though the gateway be open. And hence the lame and the blind are set at the gateway to guard the things within, just as patriarchs and archbishops and archimandrites are set between the church and the sanctuary to guard the sacred mysteries from Christ's enemies: that is to say, to guard them from heretics and sacrilegious predators, from impious lovers of sin, from heterodox defilers.

(17) Listen attentively, and you will see clearly, as I expound my discourse in due order. Though my mind be dull and my tongue be coarse, yet with trust in your prayers I beg for the gift of words. Though I be unworthy to speak of these things, yet I write for the good of them that hear me. And if any hears ill, then he seeks not his own good but merely the means to reprove and reproach me.

(18) And they sat for some time. And the blind man said to the lame: "What is this scent from within the gateway, this scent that envelops me?" And the lame man answered: "Many of our lord's goods are within, and their taste is ineffable sweetness. But since our lord is wise, he set us here—you blind and me lame—and we cannot by any means taste of these goods." And the blind man answered and said: "Why did you not tell me of this before? For then we need not have craved so long, but could have gone in to these things that have been placed in our charge, and we could have carried them off ourselves. For though I am blind, yet I have legs and am strong. I can carry both you and the burden." For, you see, this "burden" of the soul is sin. Hence the words of the Prophet: "My transgressions have pressed heavily upon me like a weighty burden."[27]

(19) So the blind man said: "Take a basket and climb onto me, and I shall carry you, and you may tell me the way, and we shall gather for ourselves all our lord's goods. For I doubt that our lord will come." Such are the reasonings of them that in an ungodly manner seek office in this world, who care only for the body, who do not expect to answer for their deeds, and who cast their souls to the wind like empty smoke. Hence Isaiah says: "Jealousy shall seize upon untaught people."[28] For we sinners are envious of the honor and glory of the righteous, yet we do not emulate their deeds.

27 Ps. 37:4.

28 Isa. 26:11.

(20) And the blind man continued: "But if our lord does come, still our deed will be concealed from him. If he questions me about the theft, I shall say, 'You know, my lord, that I am blind'; and if he questions you, then you say, 'I am lame and cannot walk.' And thus we shall outwit our lord and shall receive the reward for our watch." So the lame man climbed onto the blind man, and they entered, and they plundered all their lord's goods that were within.

(21) Do not rail at my coarseness, brethren, that my manner of writing is so ill-figured. For just as a bird that is trapped by the leg cannot soar high in the air, so I, trapped by the desires of the flesh, cannot discourse on the things of the spirit. For without the grace of the Holy Spirit the words of the sinner can achieve nothing. Let us return, then, to what we were saying and untangle the threads of the parable.

(22) *EXPLICATION*: "And they sat for a long time." What is this "long time?" It is lack of the fear of God's commandments. It is care for the body and the lack of care for one's own soul. For no man that fears God will be tempted in the things of the flesh. No man of true faith seeks hieratic office unlawfully, no man that awaits death and the resurrection which comes after death. But these two are men who abide in their deeds of evil.

(23) And again I repeat the words, the better to understand them: "And the blind man said to the lame, 'What is this sweet scent from within, this scent that envelops me?'" And so forth. This refers to the overweening arrogance of Adam: though he held charge over all things on earth and over the animals and over the sea and all the creatures in it, tasting of the good things of Eden, yet he made bold to grasp for himself that which was sacred before sanction was granted, for from Eden he entered the Garden of Paradise. Thus Scripture says: "The Lord God cast Adam out of the Garden of Paradise and sentenced him to cultivate the ground out of which he was taken."[29] See how he was commanded not to dwell in the place from which the Lord had cast him out. Yet he entered that place, just as this churchman who, unworthy of the priesthood, concealing his sins, contemptuous of God's law, assumed his episcopal rank for the sake of a lofty name and prestigious life.

[29] Cf. Gen. 3:24.

(24) *PARADIGMS*: God condemned Adam to death because he touched the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.[30] And the tree of the knowledge of good and evil means knowing one's sin and doing of one's free will that which is pleasing to God. As it is written: "Woe unto them that sin in the knowledge thereof."[31] This is why God destroyed him with the breath of the living spirit, the breath which He breathed upon his face, which is the incomplete gift of sanctification. For it is written: "And He breathed upon his face the breath of life."[32] Even thus did Christ breathe upon the face of the apostles, saying: "Receive ye the Holy Spirit"[33] —the incomplete gift, merely the promise of sanctification, for He bade them await the Holy Spirit Itself, "which," He said, "will come and complete your sanctification."[34] And even thus the bishop consecrates subdeacons and sextons and deacons: an incomplete gift, the mere promise of consecration, that they might ready themselves for full consecration into the priesthood. For nothing is more pleasing to God than modesty in office, and nothing is more loathesome to Him than self-aggrandizement, than pride in the office instead of in God.

(25) And so consider again the blind man and the lame man, how they offended against their lord's commandment, against their lord's injunction. The blind man took up the lame and carried "the burden," and went inside and approached the tree and tasted the fruit and saw that it was good, so they plundered that which they had been bidden to guard.

(26) *PARADIGMS*: This was the tree that was tasted by Cain: unconsecrated, he made bold to grasp for himself the priestly office. For he envied Abel, who was consecrated, and in his envy he killed him. And this was the tree that was tasted by the sons of Core with Dathan and Abiron: though they were not consecrated, yet they took the censer and went into the tabernacle, and the earth swallowed them up.[35] And this was the tree that was tasted by Eli the priest: for, though he knew that his sons had transgressed in their priesthood, yet

30 Cf. Gen. 2:17; 3:4.
31 Cf. Isa. 5:21.
32 Gen 2:7.
33 John 20:22.
34 Cf. Acts. 1:4–8.
35 See Num. 16.

he did not expel them from the priesthood.[36] And this was the tree that was tasted by the heretics: though they claimed to know, in their evil designs, the true path for the soul, yet they strayed and, impenitent, perished.

(27) But enough of this. Let us return to the tale. Though my organ of speech be exhausted, yet the Prophet revives me when he says, "I am weary of crying, my throat has become hoarse."[37]

(28) *THE DENUNCIATION OF SINS*: When the lord heard that his vineyard had been plundered, he ordered that the lame man be cast down from the gateway, and that the blind man be cast out from the watch.

(29) Now, you mindless holders of rank among men, you most rash among priests, now you must understand! When will you come to your senses? Do you really imagine that He who created your ear does not hear, or that He who created your eye does not see, or that He who instructs all tongues will not denounce you, or that He who teaches understanding will not understand your descent into sin? The Lord knows all evil cunning and designs, that they are false. And the Lord casts out the unrighteous from His dominion. And the Lord expels the impious from His sanctuary. No rank or office in this world will save from torment those who transgress against God's commandments.

(30) Still I entreat your indulgence. Consider attentively that which is written, and understand that which you hear. God ordered that Adam be cast out of the Garden of Paradise, since Adam had touched that which was forbidden to him: that is to say, he had entered the holy place before he was bidden. And God "caused him to dwell opposite the food of the Garden, lest he stretch forth his hand and take of the tree of life and shall live for ever":[38] that is to say, so that he might remember himself and humble himself and repent of his sins. Behold how great is our Lord's love for mankind! He punishes us and He pardons us; for our sins He chastises us, and for our repentance He receives us again. For the Lord desires not the death of a

36 See 1 Kings 2:22–25.

37 Ps. 68:3.

38 Gen 3:25, 23; see also above, p. 59 n. 20.

sinner, but bids him to turn from his way and live.[39]

(31) What is "the tree of life?" It is the wisdom of humility. And the root of the tree is confession, as it is written: "I will confess my iniquity against myself, and Thou forgavest the ungodliness of my heart."[40] And the stem from the root is good faith, as it is written: "Thy faith will save thee";[41] for to him that has faith all is given.[42] And the boughs from that stem are many and various, as it is written: "Many are the forms of repentance": tears, fasting, pure prayer, alms, contrition, sighs, and so forth. And the fruit of these boughs of virtue is love, obedience, humility, love of poverty. Many are the ways of salvation.

(32) The tree of life, you must understand, was neither in the Garden of Paradise nor in Eden but in exile—that is, in dismissal from office. For God cast out Cain when He had questioned him about his brother's murder, but after the denunciation God showed him the tree of life. God said to him: "Thou shalt be groaning and trembling,"[43] by which He meant, "Repent of your malice and of your jealousy and of your deceit and of your murder and of your lies! Humble yourself, fast, keep vigil, prostrate yourself upon the ground!" But since Cain failed to do this, so he went forth from the presence of God[44] —not distanced by land, but by lacking the fear of the Lord in his soul.

(33) Thus whatever office we may hold, if we have neither good works nor repentance for our sins, then we are distanced from God. For the Lord is near to them that are of a contrite heart, and will save the lowly in spirit,[45] and He will perform the will of them that fear Him.[46] But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to destroy their memorial from the earth.[47]

(34) Thus Paul cast out of the holy sanctuary Hymenaeus and Philetus and the errant priests of Corinth, and exiled them outside the

39 Ezek. 33:11.
40 Cf. Ps. 31:5.
41 Luke 7:50.
42 Cf. Mark 9:23.
43 Gen. 4:12.
44 Gen. 4:16.
45 Ps. 33:18.
46 Ps. 144:19.
47 Ps. 33:16.

holy sanctuary.[48] That is, he stood them with the clergy, saying, "Shame such people, yet confirm your love towards them, lest they be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow; let them repent and they shall have life."[49] Nor did Alexander the Coppersmith wish to taste of the tree of life. Of him Paul said, "The Lord will render him on the day of judgment according to his evil deeds."[50] Nor did Trephis the Ephesian taste from the tree.[51] Nor did Nicholas, one of the seven ministers.[52] Trephis denied Christ and became a priest of the idols in Thessalonica, and Nicholas betrayed Christians to their tormentors. John writes of them, saying: "They went out from us, but have turned against us."[53] Nor did the heretics taste that fruit of the Garden. They were cursed and their souls perished, for they failed to understand the words of the Prophet, who said: "Taste and see that the Lord is good";[54] for there is no sin that can conquer God's mercy.

(35) So let us not despair like Judas;[55] and let us not disbelieve the resurrection of the body, like the Sadducees.[56] But in repentance let us knock at God's doors until the gates of heaven are opened to us. Verily the Lord spoke: "Knock and it shall be opened unto you; seek and ye shall find; ask, and it shall be given you."[57]

(36) But I shall not amplify the writing by multiplying citations and excessively protract the discourse. Let us return, then, to the tale.

(37) When this man saw that his vineyard had been plundered, he decided to separate the blind man from the lame. First he ordered the blind man to be brought to him, that he might examine him as to who had disobeyed his commandment and had encroached, without his bidding, upon that which was forbidden to them. None can hide from the eye of the Lord, and none of us knows himself as God knows us all.

48 See. 2 Tim. 2:17–18; and 2 Cor. 11:3, 4, 13.
49 Cf. 2 Cor. 2:7–8.
50 Cf. 2 Tim. 4:14.
51 Cf. Diotrephes of 3 John 9–10; also Trophimus the Ephesian of Acts 21:29.
52 See Acts 6:3–6; also Rev. 2:6ff.
53 See 1 John 2:19.
54 Ps. 33:8.
55 See Matt. 27:3–5.
56 See Mark 12:18; Acts 23:6–8.
57 Cf. Matt. 7:7.

(38) *EXPLICATION*: God ordered that the soul be separated from the body. As it is said: "Thou wilt take away their breath, and they shall fail, and return to their dust."[58] So when you behold a body buried in the ground, do not imagine that the soul lies within it. For the soul is not from the earth, nor does it enter the earth. And even when you behold the wonder-working relics of the saints, do not imagine that their soul is with them, but understand that it is God's grace which does such honor to His servants. As it is said: "I will honor them that honor me."[59]

(39) "He ordered the blind man to be brought to him." After the body has expired, the soul of every man—both of the pious and of the impious, both of the law-abiding and of the lawless—comes before God with its appointed angel. For as it is said: "The Lord judges the righteous and the ungodly."[60] For all the kindreds of the nations[61] were born of one blood and were scattered to dwell upon the face of all the earth.[62] And for their benefit God ordered His creation, giving them rain from the heaven and fruitful seasons.[63] As it is said: "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good,"[64] and so forth.

(40) Let no one be suspicious of these my words. Examine the Scriptures, and you will find that I take them from holy Writ. Moses writes: "He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God."[65] And thus spoke Jeremiah: "There is one Lord of all nations under heaven."[66] And if He has left them each to its own deceit, yet the souls of each will appear before Him and He shall judge them according to their deeds.[67]

(41) Paul says: "For what have I to do with judging them that are without? Do ye not judge them that are within? But them that are

58 Ps. 103:29.
59 1 Kings 2:30.
60 Cf. Eccles. 3:17.
61 Ps. 21:27.
62 Cf. Gen. 11:8–9; Acts 17:26.
63 Acts 14:17.
64 Matt. 5:45.
65 Deut. 32:8.
66 Cf. 4 Kings 19:15 (attributed to Hezekiah!)
67 Cf. Ezek. 24:14; Matt. 16:27; Rev. 20:12.

without God judgeth."[68] "They that are within" are they that abide in the Law, while "they that are without" are the nations without the Law. For now is the time for souls that are separated from the body to hearken to God's name, that on the last day they may be raised incorruptible, together with the body, and bow down to God and not to the devils by whom they have been deceived and whom until now they have served. For thus speaks the Apostle: "And then every eye shall see Him, and every tongue shall bow and confess that Jesus Christ is the one Lord, in the glory of God the Father."[69]

(42) All those who have studied know all these things. However, though I am aware that I may be reproached, yet to the bounds of my strength and the limits of my mind I shall briefly expound the discourse which I have begun concerning the blind man. For I know that it is not in my wisdom but in my coarseness that my tale is told. Nevertheless, let us again build on the prophetic and apostolic foundations, with Christ Himself as our cornerstone.

(43) When the blind man was brought, the examination commenced. "Did I not set you," said his lord, "as a good guard over my vineyard? Why, then, did you plunder it?" And the blind man answered him thus: "Lord, you know that I am blind, and that I cannot see where to go without one to lead me, and that I could not find a single place even if I wished to. I did not sense anybody passing by me through the gateway, else I would have shouted loudly after them. Lord, I think that it is the lame man who is the robber." See here the deceitful arguments of the soul before God, its slander against the body!

(44) *EXPLICATION*: This is what the soul's words mean: "Lord, I am spirit. I have desired neither to eat nor to drink, nor have I sought honor or earthly glory, nor did I apprehend the desires of the flesh, nor did I do the will of the devil. It was the body that did all these things."

(45) Then the lord ordered the blind man to be put under guard in a place of isolation that only he knew, until the time when he himself would come to the vineyard and would summon the lame man and would then judge them both.

68 1 Cor. 5:12–13.

69 Cf. Rev. 1:7; and Phil. 2:10–11.

(46) Thus there is neither judgment nor torment for any human soul—neither for the pious nor for the impious—until the second coming of Christ. Believe, therefore, in the bodily resurrection of man. For it is said: "Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth."[70] And He has shown us hope of the resurrection in the book of Ezekiel: "And He said, 'Prophesy, Son of man, upon these dead bones, that flesh may be laid upon them and that skin may be stretched upon them, and that breath may come from the four winds and enter these dead men, that they may live.'"[71]

(47) All this the Creator does Himself. He does not create a new order of things, but rather He renews His creation of old. For first He created Adam's body, and then his soul. Thus it is in the womb of a woman: first He forms the body from the seed, then after five months He creates the soul. And thus it is in baptism: first He gives birth to water, then with the spirit He renews and revives from sinful corruption. And thus it is on the last day: first He will renew the earth and gather the dust of mankind, and in a twinkling of an eye He will form the bodies of us all, and then our souls will enter each into its own temple.[72] It will be as Paul said: "The Lord Himself will descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive."[73] Who are "the dead?" All the nations which have not come under God's law and have not received baptism. "For," it is said, "as many as have sinned without law shall perish without law."[74] And "we that are alive?" These are the Christians. You must understand, then, that all men are resurrected in the body. Let us believe the witness of Paul, who says, in the words of the Lord: "Whosoever shall not believe that in the beginning man was created by God, he shall not understand that man is given new life through baptism, and thus he shall not await the final resurrection with the body when all men shall be raised to eternal

70 Ps. 103:30.
71 Cf. Ezek. 37:3–10.
72 Cf. 1 Cor. 15:52.
73 1 Thess. 4:16–17.
74 Rom. 2:12.

life—some to honor and glory, others to shame and torment."[75]

(48) But let us complete our own discourse.

(49) When the lord came to take the fruit from his vineyard, and he saw that it had been plundered, then he summoned the lame man, and he brought him together with the blind man, and each began to denounce the other. The lame man said to the blind: "If you had not carried me, I would in no way have been able to enter therein, since I am lame." And the blind man said: "If you had not shown me the way, I would not have been able to enter therein." Then their lord sat in judgment and began to judge them both. And he said: "Just as it was when you stole, so let it be now: let the lame man sit upon the blind." And when the lame man had sat upon the blind man, the lord ordered them to be punished mercilessly before all his servants in the darkest chamber of torment.

(50) Brethren, you must understand the meaning of this parable. "The man that was a householder" is God the Father, creator of all things. And His well-born son is our Lord Jesus Christ. And the "vineyard" signifies the earth and the world. And the "fence" is God's law and commandments. And "the servants" that are with Him: these are the angels. And "the lame man" is the body of man, while "the blind man" signifies man's soul. And that "he set them at the gateway": God entrusts to man's charge all the earth, giving him the law and the commandments. And when man has transgressed against God's commandments and is therefore condemned to death, then first the soul is brought before God and argues and says: "Not I, but the body, did this." And thus there is no torment for souls until the second coming, but they are guarded in isolation, in a place which God knows. But when He shall come to renew the earth and to resurrect all the dead, then, as God Himself first said, "All that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God and shall live: they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation.[76] And then our souls shall enter our bodies and shall receive their rewards each according to his deeds:[77] the righteous into life eternal, sinners to

[75] Cf. 1 Cor. 15:12–17.

[76] John 5:25, 28–29.

[77] Cf. Matt. 16:27; Rom. 2:6.

everlasting mortal torment;[78] according as each has sinned, such will be his torment.

(51) I have interpreted these things not according to my own invention, but from holy Writ. This is not a homily of my own, but a discourse. For I am not a teacher like those other blessed men of the Church.

II: On the Tale of a Layman

A Tale of a layman, and on monasticism,
and on the soul, and on repentance;
by the most sinful monk Kirill,
for Vasilij, abbot of the Caves

(1) In a certain city there was a king. He was very meek, kind, and merciful, and he watched well over his people. Yet in one thing alone he was unwise: he was not afraid of flight, nor did he bear the weapons of war, nor could he imagine that any might rise against him. And this king had about him many friends and counselors. And he had also a daughter, his only daughter, of manly mind. And among the counselors there was one, wise and of good understanding, who grieved constantly at the fearlessness of the king and sought a time when he might speak with the king, that the king might ready himself for war. And one night, at a certain hour, there arose of a sudden a great murmuring in the city. And the king said to his counselors: "Let us go forth and walk about the city, that we may find and arrest whoever is making this disturbance in our city, for now indeed I am much afraid." And they went forth, and they walked throughout the city, and they found nothing but commotion in the city.

(2) And all the counselors fell into despondency, for they could not comprehend what had happened. But the couselor of good understanding took the king and his daughter and led them to a great mountain, with many kinds of weapons. And on the mountain the king and his daughter saw a bright glow issuing forth from the window of a cave. And stooping down to that window, they saw, in the hollow a dwelling, and in the dwelling there sat a man, and the man was lying

[78] Cf. Matt. 25:46.

in abject poverty, wrapped in lowly rags. And by the man there sat his wife, and she was singing a song, sweeter than any food. And before the man there stood another, comely and tall, on a firm rock, and he was feeding him and drawing wine. And when the man received the goblet, then they crowned him with praises and great joy. And when the king had observed this, he summoned his friends and said to them: "Behold, my friends, a wonder: see how this poor and secreted life is finer than all my dominion, see how that which is within shines more brightly than that which is without!"

(3) Here let us leave the narration and return to the beginning, and let us untangle the threads of the parable. This we do for the benefit of the simpler folk, for the quick in mind know the interpretation in advance. Let us therefore consider the details of the story in sequence.

(4) The "city," O my brethren, is the composition of the human body, of which God is the architect and creator.

(5) And the "people" within it: these we call the organs of the senses—hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and the ardor of base passion.

(6) The "king" is the mind, which has charge of the whole body. The king is "meek, kind, and merciful," because the mind cares for the body above all else, seeking its needs and adorning it with clothing. And the king "watches well over his people," because the mind is uplifted by hearing good, and downcast by hearing ill. It lets the eyes lust, it indulges the sense of smell, it lets the lips savor, and the hands it equips for the insatiable grasping of wealth, and with the hands it also indulges the lusts of base passion.

(7) What, then, was the "one thing" in which the king was "unwise?" In that the mind does not care for the soul as it cares for the body, does not take cognizance of the eternal torments meted out to them that live their earthly lives in wickedness, nor prepares itself for the life prepared for the righteous in the age to come. And this is why Paul says: "The whole world lieth in wickedness."[79] Nor does the mind heed the words of Solomon, who says: "Blessed is he who has found wisdom, and prudent is he who knows the meaning of this

[79] 1 John 5:19.

life."[80]

(8) The "counselors and friends": these are thoughts of this life, which keep us from thinking of death.

(9) "Flight," in the Scriptures, is a name for death. As Christ said to the Jews: "Pray that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath";[81] that is to say, "May death not catch you in sin, nor on a feast day, without repentance."

(10) And the "weapons of war": according to the Apostle this is an expression which means fasting and prayers and purity of body. As it is said: "Take up the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day."[82] But these are weapons which laymen do not like to bear.

(11) The "night" is the turmoil of this world, a turmoil as if in the dark, for we outstrip each other in our self-destruction; or as if held in sleep, we cannot hold back from sin.

(12) And the "murmuring in the city at a certain hour": this is the unexpected disaster that befalls man, such as sickness, or flooding, or wounding, or, for authorities, some grave affront. For at such times we desist from our ordinary thoughts and our minds are distracted: this is the meaning of the king's fear, and of the procession through the city, and of the inability to discover who had provoked the disturbance. For there are no means by which to undo what God has allowed to be done—no means except for the prayers of holy men.

(13) See how true this is: Peter was released from prison and from his chains by the prayers said for him by the church.[83] And also take heed of Paul's words to the Romans: "In Asia we were afflicted above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life; but God delivered us by your prayers."[84] And if there be any matter about which the living are unworthy to entreat God, then we can call on the saints that are deceased. Isaiah is witness to this. For at God's behest Isaiah brought death upon Hezekiah, yet at God's behest also he both restored Hezekiah to health and delivered the city, saying: "This is

80 Cf. Prov. 3:13.
81 Matt. 24:20.
82 Eph. 6:13.
83 See Acts 12:3–9.
84 Cf. 2 Cor. 1:8–11.

the gift of the God of David for the sake of his offspring."[85] Thus also the Three Youths prayed, saying: "For the sake of your beloved Abraham, and of your servant Isaac, and of your blessed Israel." And so saying they went forth from the fire unburned by the flames.[86] Or we can compare the time of that other counselor of good understanding, that sought not the aid of magic or magicians, but instead cried out in faith: "It is good for me that Thou hast afflicted me, that I might learn Thine ordinances";[87] and, "As was pleasing to the Lord, it came to pass. The Lord kills and makes alive; the Lord makes poor and makes rich; He brings low and lifts up; He raises the feeble from their ailments."[88]

(14) The "mountain" refers to a monastery. For a monastery possesses the following spiritual weapons against the devil: fasting, prayer, tears, abstinence, chastity, love, humility, obedience, diligence, and vigilance.

(15) The king is brought to the mountain by "the counselor of good understanding." This means that worldly cares bring the mind to the monastery. For a monastery is the mountain of God, a rich mountain, a swelling mountain, the mountain which God has delighted to dwell in.[89]

(16) And when he says, "I came to the mountain," this is the vow of dedication to God. As it is written: "Vow, and pay your vows to the Lord our God."[90] And: "I will pay Thee my vows, which my lips framed and my mouth uttered in my affliction."[91]

(17) "And stooping down to the window": that is, to hear the teaching that profits the soul. As it is said: "The manifestation of Thy words will enlighten, and instruct the simple."[92] And: "I lifted up mine eyes to the mountains whence my help shall come."[93] And here we can say with David: "The Lord shall keep my coming in and my

85 See Isa. 38:1–6.
86 See Dan. 3:19–27.
87 Ps. 118:71.
88 Cf. 1 Kings 2:6–8.
89 Ps. 67:15–16.
90 Ps. 75:11.
91 Ps. 65:13–14.
92 Ps. 118:130.
93 Ps. 120:1.

going out henceforth and even forever."[94] For Christ draws none to repentance by compulsion, but gives them understanding through deeds, that by this they might know Him and He might lead them into the kingdom of heaven.

(18) The "deep cave": this is the church within the monastery—envisioned by the prophets, positioned by the apostles, provisioned by the evangelists.

(19) And the "bright glow" shining from it: this is the sacrifice pleasing to God, the unabating alleluia with the sounds of psalms. For it is said: "Lift up your hands by night in the sanctuaries, and bless the Lord!"[95] And: "At midnight I arose, to give thanks to Thee."[96] "Let your light so shine before men," it is said, "that they may see your good works and glorify your Father, who is in heaven."[97]

(20) The "inner chamber" is the rule of apostolic tradition for the monastic life, in which none has autonomy, but in which all things are common to all, for all are under the abbot just as the bodily organs are under the head: maintained by the sinews of the spirit.

(21) And "the man sitting within it in abject poverty" signifies the entire order of monks. His sitting signifies silence. As it is said: "I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue: I was dumb, and humbled myself, and kept silent from good words."[98] And: "But I, as a deaf man, heard not; and as a dumb man I opened not my mouth."[99] And the "abject poverty" signifies the reprobation and provocation and repudiation and vituperation and defamation and investigation by laymen. For laymen do not consider that monks serve God, but that rather as tempters they corrupt their own souls. This is why Paul says: "God hath set forth us, the apostles, last, as men appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world;"[100] and, "We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ."[101]

94 Ps. 120:8.
95 Ps. 133:2.
96 Ps. 118:62.
97 Matt. 5:16.
98 Ps. 38:1–2.
99 Ps. 37:13.
100 1 Cor. 4:9, 10.
101 1 Cor. 4:10.

(22) And the garb of "lowly rags": here is no allegory, for this is the sackcloth and the hair shirt and the coarse apparel and the garb of goatskin. For all fine raiment and adornment of the flesh is alien to the abbot and to all monastic rules. For Christ said: "They that wear soft raiment are in kings' houses";[102] but there are those who are clothed in moderation and girt with righteousness and adorned with humility.

(23) And his "wife" who sits near him, she signifies the ever-present mindfulness of death, the mindfulness that sings this sweet song: "The voice of exultation and joy is in the tabernacles of the righteous";[103] for the righteous live forever and their reward is from the Lord. Death for the righteous is rest. So do not set your heart on the wealth that is transient, for I shall not spare all who commit iniquities. This is why it is said: "I have forgotten to eat my bread by reason of the voice of my groaning."[104]

(24) And the "comely" figure standing before him: this is Christ. For the Lord is near to all who fear Him, and He fulfills their desires and hears their prayers. Behold He is comely in His goodness, more than the sons of men. For the Lord is generous and merciful. And He said: "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give my soul as a ransom for many."[105]

(25) And this figure is "exceeding tall" because He is the Son of God, who descended from heaven and was made flesh for our salvation, and became a man that He might raise men to God.

(26) And He stands on the "firm rock" of our faith. Amos and Jeremiah are witnesses to this. For Amos says: "Behold a tall man was standing upon a firm rock, summoning the nations and feeding His own."[106] And Jeremiah says: "He is a man, and who shall know Him?[107] But let it be manifest to the nations that He is God."

(27) He is "feeding him" and "drawing wine," because He bestows upon all the faithful His blessed body for the remission of their sins, and His holy blood for eternal life.

[102] Matt. 11:8.
[103] Ps. 117:15.
[104] Ps. 101:4–5.
[105] Matt. 20:28.
[106] Cf. Amos 7:7.
[107] Cf. Jer. 17:9.

(28) "Preventing others": this is each man's conscience. For Paul proclaims: "Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, and shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord."[108]

(29) And when "the man receives the goblet," and "they crown him with praises": these, you must understand, are those who have been purified through repentance and who have received the life-giving cup for the sanctification of the soul and the purification of the body. For then God the Father praises them, in the words of the Prophet: "Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven and whose sins are covered, to whom the Lord will not impute sin."[109] And: "Be glad in the Lord and exult, ye righteous."[110] And they are crowned by the Holy Spirit, for the Holy Spirit resides in them that abide in holy communion; for lo, the Holy Spirit found them worthy vessels for itself and made its abode in them. For they washed its temple with their tears, and strewed it with their diligent prayers, and decked it with their virtuous deeds, and scented it with the sighs of their sacrifice. And Christ with His angels greatly rejoices and exults. As it is said: "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth;"[111] and "Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost."[112]

(30) "The king observed all this and summoned his friends": his observation signifies the virtuous resolution to desist from the ways of sin, and to learn ways pleasing to God, and to gather one's reflections on this life of vanity, and to renounce the attractions of this life of temptation, and to proclaim with Solomon: "O vanity of vanities!"[113] For every man who compels himself to toil for these things, who exposes himself to his own destruction, must then marvel at the angelic and divinely inspired life of a monk and abandon all such cares of the body. For after the temptations of the body, every man endeavors to care for his soul.

(31) After this explication, the remainder should not be left without interpretation. Not that I have created this tale, but rather I

108 1 Cor. 11:27, 29.
109 Ps. 31:1–2; reading var. въ судъ: see Eremin "Nasledie" 12:351 n. 194.
110 Ps. 31:11.
111 Luke 15:7, 10.
112 Luke 15:9.
113 Eccles. 1:2.

take it from the divinely inspired Scriptures, and I weave the tale as if weaving together scraps and pieces cut from cloth, and I put on the bright display to win your affections, like a child in front of its father.

(32) *An encomium to monks*
—we shall speak from the books of the prophets—
and on recognizing the grace of Christ,
and on entering the cave—that is, on tonsure

(33) The king said: "How is there joy in this poor and secreted dwelling finer than in all of our dominion? And how does that which is within shine more brightly than that which is without?" Thus wise men remember their souls. As it is said: "A king is not saved by reason of a great host,"[114] and all power is accounted sin. And as for the traders: where there is trade there is sin and other worldly things. Those who live in the world, whether in wealth or in poverty, have obstacles in their path to salvation: their family and their household. This is why the Apostle says: "He that is married careth for his wife, how he may please his wife; but he that is unmarried careth how he may please the Lord."[115] The one leads to torment, the other to eternal life.

(34) The "poor and secreted dwelling" signifies monasticism. For every man from without comes to obedience and humility, and rejoices in God alone, and receives honor for his labors from God and from men. As a tree is praised not for its height nor yet for its foliage but for its fruit, so also monks are made glorious not by their monastery but by their monastic virtues. This is manifest in the example of Feodosij, abbot of the Caves in Kiev. He lived the life of a true monk, and loved God, and loved the brethren as members of his own body. And hence God loved him and for his sake glorified this place above all other monasteries in Rus′.

(35) These inner virtues in the life of the blessed elders shine with their wonders more than earthly dominion. And this is why the mighty of the world bow down their heads to monks, rendering due honor to the servants of God, according to the word of the Lord, who said: "He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous

[114] Ps. 32:16.
[115] 1 Cor. 7:33, 32.

man shall receive a righteous man's reward,"[116] and so forth; and: "He that receiveth you receiveth me."[117] And He also said: "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom of heaven."[118] And He said: "And one that shall forsake his father and mother and lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundredfold and shall inherit eternal life."[119] Because of these promises every Christian is constrained to bear the yoke of the Lord: that is, to accept for himself the monastic order.

(36) Let us now speak of how that king entered.

(37) Taking his only-begotten daughter, he enters the cave. You must understand that this "daughter" of the "mind" is the soul. For it is begotten of the mind and is akin to the ranks of the angels. As it is said: "The Lord who makes His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire."[120] For the spirit is vigilant for every virtue and willing to strive in the service of God, but the flesh is weak.[121] But the service of angels and the service of monks is one and the same: for as angels abandon their own will and submit to God's bidding, so monks abandon their own will and submit to the bidding of their abbot. And God Himself renders unto them their reward for their labors. As it is said: "He that loses his life for the sake of my words shall find it in eternal life."[122]

(38) And this is what the king's daughter said to the one that stood within: "Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them and give praise to the Lord,[123] since they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing."[124]

(39) And he that stood within answered: "This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter by it,[125] and the Lord will not withhold

116 Matt. 10:41.
117 Matt. 10:40.
118 Luke 12:32.
119 Cf. Matt. 19:29, reading живот вѣчный: Eremin, "Nasledie" 12:352 n. 261.
120 Ps. 103:4.
121 Cf. Matt. 26:41.
122 Cf. Matt. 10:39.
123 Ps. 117:19.
124 Ps. 33:10.
125 Ps. 117:20.

good things from them that walk in innocence.[126] Who are you that speaks thus boldly?"

(40) And she said: "I am the daughter of the king, and virgins shall be brought to the king after her."[127]

(41) And he answered: "Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear. Forget also thy people, and thy father's house, and the king shall desire thy beauty, even though you be black."[128]

(42) This means that until a man abandons the desires of the flesh and the cares of the world, his soul shall not be reconciled with God, for ye cannot serve God and mammon.[129] Her "blackness" is sin. As it is written: "I am black, but beautiful."[130] Which means: I am black because of original sin and because of the things of the life of this world; but I am beautiful through willing repentance. I am black through the power of my rank as a ruler in this world, but I am beautiful through my tonsure as a monk.

(43) And from inside: "All glory to the daughter of the king!"[131]

(44) "But who are you?"

(45) "I," he said, "am the shepherd of the sheep.[132] I left the ninety-nine in the mountains and came down here to seek the strays.[133] But if you hearken to me, the rich of the people shall supplicate thy favor."[134]

(46) And she answered: "I have vowed to Thee,[135] for I am a sheep of Thy spiritual flock, and I have fled to Thee for refuge:[136] to Thee, the Good Shepherd.[137] Seek me out, who have strayed,[138] and

126 Ps. 83:11.
127 Ps. 44:14.
128 Cf. Ps. 44:10–11.
129 Matt. 6:24.
130 Song of Sol. 1:5.
131 Cf. Ps. 44:13.
132 Cf. John 10:2.
133 Cf. Matt. 18:12–13.
134 Ps. 44:12.
135 Cf. Ps. 131:2.
136 Ps. 142:9.
137 John 10:11.
138 Cf. Matt. 18:11.

kiss me with the kisses of His mouth."[139]

(47) See the sense in such an arrangement of words! And do not imagine that I have taken any of this from anywhere except the sacred books!

(48) If we had kept the vow of our tonsure, then we would have received not only cleansing from our sins but also honor upon earth, like the blessed fathers and wonder-workers, before whom kings and princes prostrated themselves in obeisance, and we would have seen the face of God in the heavenly kingdom. All that we entreated in our prayers we would swiftly have received twofold.

(49) Yet still she questions the one who stands within, saying: "If You are the shepherd, do not abandon me or desert me, for grief is at hand. I have heard the voice of Isaiah, who says of You: "He shall tend His flock as a shepherd, and shall gather the lambs with His arm, and shall soothe them that are with young.'"[140] Such are the thoughts, if not the words, of the newly tonsured monk. Such monks take their vows, but beg for sanctification without first overcoming their own weakness. They read the Scriptures and entreat God to save them, with no further toil. For we do not take to heart the words of Paul, that, "No man is crowned without having contended."[141] No man can conquer while he sleeps, nor can the idler be saved. And yet God's gifts are certain. And a sure witness to this in heaven is our Lord Jesus Christ, who freely redeems the order of monks. For He Himself prays for us, saying: "Blessed Father, I pray not for the world, but for those whom Thou hast given me. Keep them in Thy name, that wheresoever I shall be, there they shall be also with me, and that not one of them might perish, but the son of perdition."[142]

(50) And, O monks, since you have taken these vows, be diligent. Even among the apostles of the present there is surely a Judas. Let each one of you keep watch for himself, lest we sell the word of the Lord for a lie, lest we steal or rob or hurt or scheme evilly against the abbot or justify ourselves with oaths, lest we crucify Christ by coming corrupt to the sacrament. Let us rather compose and comport ourselves in all things as the servants of God (just as the Apostle

139 Song of Sol. 1:2.
140 Isa. 40:11.
141 Cf. 2 Tim. 2:5.
142 Cf. John 17:9–12.

says[143]) and accomplish with patience and resignation our redemption. Just as horses that run in the herd strive to emulate one another, so you also should emulate the strivings of the holy fathers and vie with one another in your fasting and in your vigils and in your prayers and in your labors to serve, that you be not weakened through gluttony and drunkenness and the desires of the flesh, lest we founder in the desolation of Hades, there to be torn to pieces by the beasts of Gehenna and our bodies crushed like lumps of earth and tormented by fire and our bones scattered at the mouth of the grave.[144] But instead, spread forth the wings of your understanding, and let us soar up from the sin that brings us so low. Let us take our nourishment from Scripture, and let us say, with David, "How sweet are Thy words to my throat, more so than honey to my mouth!"[145]

(51) I speak these things in ignorance, for my consolation rather than for my magnification. For I am a man, a sinner, and my tongue is a corrupt organ. Though I may have penetrated the depths of the divine books, yet with the coarse tongue of my mind I utter shallow words. But may the God of peace in His great mercy grant that this discourse be acceptable to you, my fathers, and may He keep your souls pure and your bodies from corruption and your life unblemished and your chastity unplundered and your monasticism unobstructed and your faith unswerving and your care for your souls unceasing and your love for your brethren unfeigned. And may He adorn your repose with signs, and open the heavenly gates and set aside the weapons of fire, and lead you into Jerusalem on high and crown you with His right hand, and set a table before you and grant you the cup of exultation and joy.

(52) And me: I beg you, do not spurn me like a dog, but remember me even here in your prayers, and there throw me scraps from that holy table,[146] and may all Christians be judged worthy of that life, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom glory with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and ever.

143 Cf. Rom. 6:22.

144 Cf. Ps. 140:7.

145 Ps. 118:103.

146 Cf. Matt. 15:27; Luke 16:21.

III: ON THE MONASTIC ORDER

An Address by Kirill, bishop of Turov,
concerning the monastic order:
From the Old and the New Testaments:
The Old being the prefiguration,
and the New fulfilling it with deeds.

(1) First we shall speak of those who leave the world in order to enter a monastery, and who take on the habit of a novice monk. This practice is duly established in the Rule, according to both Testaments: it is fitting first to enter the novitiate. Therefore pay heed, monk, both to the form of your monastic image and to the way of your monastic life. Consider the robes in which you are wrapped, and recognize that you combine the two natures.

(2) According to the Old Testament He made for Himself a sacrifice from the lambs that were slaughtered in the wilderness for the Lord's passover. Therefore be you not scabbed and lame and blind and blemished; for all such lambs are cast out as food for dogs and birds on account of their corruption.[147] And therefore if you, monk, have dedicated yourself here without due zeal, then take heed lest you become a dwelling for demons and lest you cast your own soul to the birds of Gehenna,[148] having become scabbed in the commission of sins, lame through care for the things of this life, and blind through fruitless living and caring only for your belly.

(3) According to the Old Testament, that sacrifice was offered to God freely and was rendered purely in great and small.[149] So be you not corrupt in the consideration of your thoughts, that you hear not, as Cain heard, "To thee shall be thy submission, and thou shalt rule over him."[150] You should be as a candle: only before passing through the church doors may you have your own volition; do not consider how you are then used. Or you should be as a garment: before you are taken in hand, know yourself; scheme not, even though you may be

[147] Cf. Lev. 22:18–27, echoing the "unblemished lamb" of Exod. 12:5 and the "unblemished rams" of Exod. 29:1; cf. also Deut. 15:19–21.
[148] Cf. Rev. 19:20–21.
[149] Cf. Ps. 53:6.
[150] Gen 4:7.

torn to strips. That is: have your own will before you enter the monastery; but after you take on *this* habit,[151] then cast yourself into obedience and harbor not the slightest trace of self-will in your heart, that you may not perish in your soul, as did Ananias on hearing the words of Peter: "How is it that thou hast schemed to deceive the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God."[152] So do not neglect your vow, lest it happen unto you according to the Scriptures, as it is written: "It were better not to have known the truth than, after knowing it, to turn back from it."[153] Thus if you bring no benefit to your soul, but turn again to the world, then you will also be as the dog that turns to its own vomit, and as the sow that wallows in the mire.[154]

(4) *On the tonsure of monks into the small habit: from the Old Testament and in a different mode.*

(5) God said unto Moses: "Lead my people, Israel, out of Egypt, that they may go forth and inherit the land that I swore to Abraham."[155] And when the people heard this from Aaron, they longed to go forth:[156] some in the joy of God's promise, others because they could not endure their harsh servitude to Pharaoh, some unable to make the bricks and build a city that was not their own, others unable to endure the strictures of their taskmasters.[157] And they went forth, taking with them the bones of Joseph.[158] And they took with them their dough, mixed but unleavened,[159] for they had not been given time to bake it. And in the haste of their journey they placed the unleavened meal on their heads, and thus it was baked by the sun. And their hair came out, and on all of them there appeared a bald patch: and this is the image according to which monks are tonsured.

151 Reading сего rather than всего.
152 See Acts 5:3–4.
153 Cf. 2 Pet. 2:21.
154 Cf. 2 Pet. 2:22.
155 Cf. Exod. 6:1–13; 33:1.
156 See Exod. 4:30–31.
157 See Exod. 5:6–9.
158 See Exod. 13:19.
159 See Exod. 12:34.

And after crossing the sea, they all fed on manna, without toil,[160] and the garments on them grew, until they came to the foot of Mount Sinai.[161]

(6) *In the same mode. According to the New Testament.*

(7) God sent His Son to free humankind from bondage to the devil, and to bring it forth from darkness to light, and to bring His patient followers to abide in the heavenly kingdom.

(8) *Incipit*: And when Aquila and Priscilla[162] heard of this from Paul—that entry to the kingdom of heaven is through faith and purity and humility—then they, at Paul's hands, became the first to have their heads shorn, and they made[163] for themselves black habits from coarse cloth.

(9) And therefore, brother, you also, if you wish to follow Christ as He leads you towards heaven, bear in mind wherefore you flee from the world—the world which is to be understood as "Egypt." It may be because you desire the promised kingdom, or because you cannot accept servitude to the devil in sin, or because you have no love for the cares of this life (from which there is no benefit, but which only destroy the soul), or because you are wearied by your wife and your children. It is quite proper also to administer the tonsure even to an old man on the point of death, if he so desires: this is the "bones of Joseph."[164]

(10) And so you should carry your "dough" (as one might call it) with care, until you too have the bald patch on your head. For "by faith he passed through the Red Sea."[165] Which means: forget the things of this earthly life and, receiving bread from the hand of the cellarer without toil, like the manna, nourish yourself. And you should love not fine and soft garments, but instead garments which grow: which means, sew your garments with many patches, until you reach the mountain of virtues pleasing to God. But even then do not slacken, but endure, that Moses may come down to you from the

160 See Exod. 14–16.
161 See Exod. 19:2.
162 See Acts 18:1–3, 18ff.
163 Reading сотвориста.
164 Cf. above, p. 83 n. 158.
165 Cf. Heb. 11:29.

mountain bearing the tablets of the commandments.

(11) *Summary*: Do not, therefore, emulate those who, though they live in a monastery, yet have no fear of God, and who think only of their bellies and of their clothes; who swagger in grandiloquence, while shamefully they hurl abuse and curses upon all, and who seek worldly honor and power for themselves, and who preserve only such teachings and commandments as they please, according to their own will. These are the "many Christs" of Scripture.[166]

(12) But you, O monk, you should pay heed to the commandments and to the way of life of the *one* Christ, who endured insults and slanders and abuse for your sake. Prepare yourself, also, to endure afflictions. Be diligent and have strength; do not break your vow; when reproached, do not demean yourself with recalcitrance, stinking like a foul vessel. Remember instead the tonsure of your head, that you wear the holy likeness of Christ's crown of thorns, and bear your cross in suffering with Him, and crucify yourself by enduring of your own free will: and thus you may defeat the evil one. But even in this you should not rely on yourself alone, but await Christ, when He shall lead Adam forth from Hades.

(13) *In the first mode: on the self-discipline of monks; from the Law:*

(14) Moses commanded all to abide in purity,[167] and he went up onto the mountain. And there God descended, and fire enveloped the mountain,[168] and God wrote the tablets with His finger,[169] and gave the Law to Moses. And He took from His spirit, and set it in the chosen elders,[170] and was merciful and kind to whomsoever He wished. But see what came to pass! Not even miracles saved the weak from perdition; but they came and urged Aaron to give them a god. And their will was done, and they sat down to eat and drink, until they were consumed by fire, and many perished from the wrath

[166] Cf. Matt. 24:5, 24; 1 John 2:18. This paragraph is corrupt, but the sense is clear.

[167] See Exod. 19:10–11, 14–15.

[168] See Exod. 19:18–20; 24:15–17.

[169] See Exod. 31:18.

[170] See Exod. 24:9–14; 35:31ff.

of God.[171] And *all* would have perished, had not Moses stood before Him in the breach, to turn away His anger, so that He should not destroy them[172] before the tabernacle was made.

(15) *In the same mode: concerning monks. From the New Testament.*

(16) O monk, if you believe that you will receive life in heaven, according as it is said, "Our citizenship is in heaven,"[173] then keep the commandments which Christ spoke to His disciples as He went up to Jerusalem: "He that would be the greater among you, let him become the least of all and the minister of all."[174] Remember what you heard at your tonsure: "Behold, Christ stands here invisible." Consider to whom you promised yourself. Reflect: was it not greater than Mount Sinai, the fire of the fear of God which then encompassed you? And was it not greater than the tablets, that the words of your vow were inscribed by God's word in the bodily tablets of your heart? Do not smash them with weakness of faith. But even if you do not shine in purity with Moses, then at least be swathed, like the mountain, in the smoke[175] of sighs for your sins. For blessed are they who were then of one mind with Joshua, the son of Naue. So you also, monk, must endeavor to find a man who has the spirit of Christ, who is adorned with virtues and has obedience in his life, and who above all has love for the Lord and obedience to his abbot and goodwill for the brethren, and who has an understanding of the divine Scriptures, and who thereby instructs others on the way of God in heaven. And having found such a man, dedicate yourself to him, as Chaleb to Joshua.[176] Cut out from yourself your own free will and become as a pure vessel, preserving the good things poured into it, until you become a tabernacle of the Holy Trinity. As God said, "I and the Father will come and make our abode in you."[177]

171 See Exod. 32:1–6, 20, 27–28.
172 Ps. 105:23.
173 Phil. 3:20.
174 Cf. Mark 9:35; Luke 22:26–27.
175 Cf. Exod. 19:18.
176 See Num. 14.
177 Cf. John 14:23.

(17) *From the first mode*

(18) But if you should cleave to monks that are as the assembly of Abiron,[178] that cherish their bodies and betray their habits, and in the guise of a festival make for themselves a feast with drinking, and there gather together and remain until late, and who seek to exert their own will over the hierarchy, beyond seniority, and who take counsel not for God's sake nor for good, and who form an unruly community, and who shamelessly attack the steward and the cellarer, as Core and Dathan rose up against Moses and Aaron:[179] for "their god is their belly," as the Apostle says, "and their glory is in their shame";[180] and for them "the wrath of God cometh upon the sons of disobedience,"[181] that is, upon monks who cast aside their vow and create a name for themselves in the monastery. And they do not see what is written of them: "I have said, you shall be gods, and all of you children of the Most High. But ye die as men."[182] Such as these are dead in their souls.

(19) Yet they may as well be dead in body also. For behold, as with Moses, so with Christ. If Christ did not offer Himself up daily as a sacrifice to God the Father for sinners, awaiting our repentance, and if because of our own weakness we do not inherit the heaven that was promised to us, then it would indeed be better for us that our bodies should perish together with those that perished in the wilderness—better than returning to the sufferings of Egypt by not ceasing to commit sins! But if we reproach ourselves, and if we daily repent of our frequent transgressions, then we shall not suffer the torments at the hands of the taskmasters of Hades.

[178] Cf. Num. 16; 26:9; Ps. 105:17.
[179] See Num. 26:9.
[180] Phil. 3:19.
[181] Eph. 5:6.
[182] Cf. Ps. 81:6–7.

(20) *On the vestments of Aaron, and of the monastic habit, and on the tunic and the girdle and the full-length robe, and on the circlets and the ephod, and on the fourfold vestment and the fringe and the tire*[183]

(21) After the making of the tabernacle, when the sacrifice had been prepared, and when the fine wheat flour and the olive oil and the pure fat had been brought by the priests according to the holy shekel[184] (which means according to the weight of God's law), then God ordered Aaron and all the tribe of the pure Levites[185] to be clothed in the sacred vestments. These indicate the monastic order, signifying the two natures: that of Adam's transgression, and that of Christ's incarnation.

(22) For the purple tunic is after the image of the fig leaves which Adam sewed together and with which he covered himself.

(23) And the leathern girdle[186] of the leather vestment indicates mortality.

(24) The robe is the sin of Adam's transgression.

(25) And he put on circlets[187] of gold: this is Adam's expulsion from Paradise, for he was cast out like cattle in harness.

(26) And on the breast he placed the ephod,[188] a span of finespun linen with twelve precious stones: these signify the twelve tribes of the Israelites.

(27) And he put on the four-fold vestment,[189] like the cloud

[183] Respectively, стихарь, пояс, подирь, обеди, ефуд, четвьроскутьна риза, ометь, and кидарь. The following passages are derived from Exod. 28, via commentaries in some respects closer to the Hebrew Bible and Vulgate than to the Septuagint. Kirill's version is somewhat confused. See below, nn. 187–89; also fig. 1, p. 91.

[184] Cf. Exod. 29:1–9; Lev. 8; on the "holy shekel," see Num. 7:13, 19, 25 etc.

[185] Cf. Num. 8.

[186] Cf. Matt. 3:4 (not Exod.).

[187] обеди: probably the "circlets" of Exod. 28:13–14 (cf. KJV "ouches," settings), the shoulder clasps for the ephod. The word sometimes signifies part of a harness.

[188] In the Hebrew Bible the ephod is the linen tunic under the breastplate, and the breastplate is set with stones. The Septuagint has ἐπωμίς—"shoulder piece" rather than ἐφούδ throughout this passage, and "oracle of judgment" rather than "breastplate."

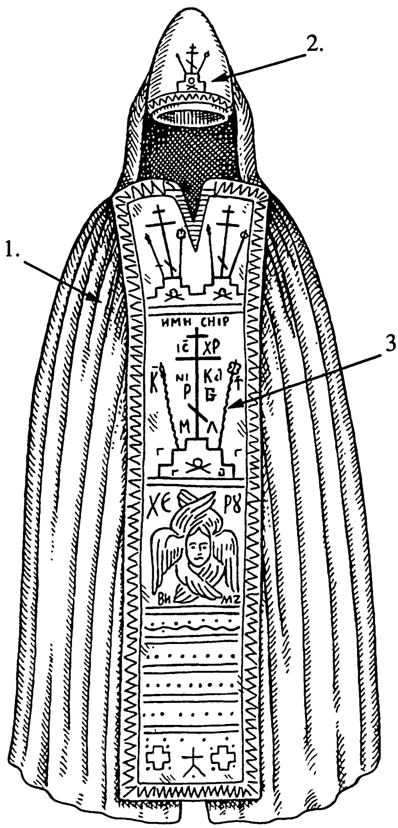
[189] "Four-fold vestment": must be the "oracle of judgment" (i.e., the breastplate set with stones: cf. Exod. 28:16–17), though the text here (but not below) seems to confuse its function with that of the ephod. For various renderings of четвьроскутьнъ, see G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Munich, 1982), 156; Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, s.v.

FIGURE 1
Aaron's garments

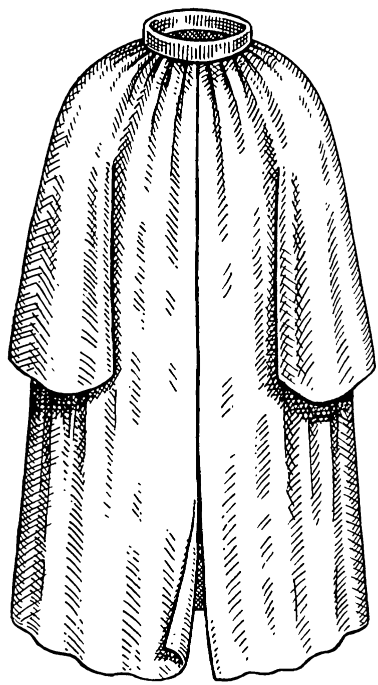


1. tire
(кидарь)
2. circlets
(обеди)
3. fourfold vestment
(четвьроскутьна риза)
4. ephod
(ефуд)
5. girdle
(пояс)
6. tunic
(стихарь)
7. fringe
(ометь)
8. full-length robe
(подирь)

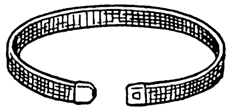
FIGURE 2
Monk's habit



1. cowl
(куколь)
2. small mantle
(малая манътка)
3. analabos / scapular
(аналави / плетьцѣ)



overgarment
(къдман)



girdle
(пояс)

spread out over Israel in the wilderness, from which the manna issued forth upon them. As it is written, "He spread out a cloud for a covering to them."[190] So you see, O monk, that your mantle[191] has its name from *manna*: don not a wordly cloak.

(28) The tire, or headpiece: this is the protective shade of the Holy Spirit.[192]

(29) The fringe is Adam, who went down from the heights of life in Paradise to the nether darkness of Hades. For God commanded the priests and the Levites to take on themselves the likeness of Adam, and to pray for his deliverance from Hades. But since these same patriarchs and prophets of the Old Law did not keep God's commandment to the end and did not deign to walk in His law, the Scripture has shut up under sin all that were in the Old Law.[193] Of this the Lord spoke in the parable of the man who fell among robbers:[194] he was stripped of his clothing, and wounded, and cast onto the road half dead. And, the parable says, a priest and a Levite went down that way and saw the man in pain from his wounds, but they passed him by, unable to heal him. And this is why it is right that another priest shall arise, all in the likeness of Aaron, but not be reckoned after the order of Aaron,[195] and that he should raise up from Hades the one who had fallen with wounds and should take him on his own beast and bring him to the inn.

(30) *An Interpretation of how the two Laws are combined: the priesthood of Christ and the wearing of the monastic habit*[196]

(31) Hearken to the apostle Paul, who said to the Galatians: "God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, abiding under the Law."[197] See how, just as had been prefigured, He made Himself a tabernacle of heavenly gold; and He prepared a sacrifice of Himself. As it is

190 Ps. 104:39.
191 мантия.
192 Cf., e.g., Isa. 4:4–6.
193 Cf. Gal. 3:22.
194 See Luke 10:30–37.
195 Reading иному; cf. Heb. 7:11 (with Melchizedek in place of the first mention of Aaron).
196 I.e., the schema. For the articles of the monk's habit, see fig. 2, p. 90.
197 Gal. 4:4.

written: "The rulers of men gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ";[198] instead of the fine wheat flour,[199] they spoke slanders against Him, and instead of oil, they spat upon His holy face, and instead of the fat, they struck Him on the cheeks, and they bought Him from Judas for a price, for a weight of silver, after the likeness of that "holy shekel."[200] And in the same way the monk also, by keeping the law and by doing good deeds, makes his body a tabernacle for the Holy Spirit and brings himself as a living sacrifice to the Lord, in purity of mind offering prayer, like the flour, to the Lord; and in place of the oil, tears; and in place of the fat, sighs from the heart.

(32) Consider next the vestments of Christ, that He be a priest, according to God's commandment, as the words of the prophecy came to pass: "And they stripped Him and put on Him a scarlet robe."[201] This is the tunic of Aaron, the clothing that represents Adam's fig leaf; and this is also the overgarment[202] of the monk, once he has stripped himself of his own will. And of this it is written: "Thus fair in his mighty apparel."[203]

(33) The girdle is the sentence of death on the cross. For with the girdle He brought Adam to God, for He was bound and led for Adam, according to Scripture: "He is girt with truth and has on the breastplate of righteousness."[204] The girdle[205] of the monastic habit for feast days is in this image: and thus it is from Adam to Aaron, and to the fulfillment of both Laws in Christ.

(34) The circlets metaphorically represent royal stature. For they brought Him bound to Pilate saying, "Crucify Him, for this man makes Himself Caesar."[206] And behold, this came to pass according to the prophecy: "To bind their king with fetters,"[207] so that, having borne the yoke of Adam's exile, He might render Himself up as Caesar. For whosoever bears these circlets of calumny upon his stature is

198 Ps. 2:2; cf. Acts 4:26.
199 Cf. Exod. 29:2.
200 Cf. Num. 7:13 etc.
201 Matt. 27:28; cf. Isa. 63:2.
202 късдман.
203 Cf. Isa. 63:1, apparently from a reading βιαίᾳ for βίᾳ.
204 Eph. 6:14.
205 пояс.
206 See John 19:1–15.
207 Ps. 149:8.

saved. And similarly monks should by tradition wear the analabos, that is, a scapular,[208] as a goad to true obedience.

(35) And the ephod signifies when Christ stood before the high priests and Caiaphas said: "Ye know that it is expedient that one man should die for the people."[209] And he spoke thus with a view to the ephod. Then they bound His face with a cloth and struck Him and said: "Prophesy unto us, Christ, who is he that struck Thee?"[210] And this also they spoke with a view to the ephod. For after the likeness of the ephod the monk has the small mantle,[211] that he might bear the Old Law neither on his breast nor on his face, but on his shoulders.

(36) And the tire: when they led Him to be crucified they placed a crown of thorns upon His head. This is the short hair of the monk's tonsure.

(37) And the four-fold garment of Aaron prefigured Christ, when the soldiers crucified Him and divided His garments.[212] And with this garment He covered the four corners of the world. And similarly monks are the soldiers of Christ, as they wear their four-fold mantle.[213] For this garment is called God's shroud, according to the image of the cloud spread over Israel in the wilderness.[214] Monks are God's new child, Israel.

(38) And the full-length robe with which He took upon Himself the sins of the world and was nailed to the cross: this is the monastic cowl.[215] According to the Old Law it is Adam's sin of transgression, and according to the New Law it is the image of Christ's humility.

(39) And in the image of Adam's tasting of the fruit of the forbidden tree. He tastes of the gall with vinegar[216]—a mockery of the first fruits due to the priest.[217] In this image the monk must keep his daily fast and his general abstinence.

208 аналави... рекъше плетьцѣ.
209 Cf. John 11:50.
210 Cf. Matt. 26:67–68; Mark 14:65.
211 малая манътка.
212 Into four parts: cf. John 19:23–24.
213 четвьросктьну... манотью.
214 Cf. Ps. 104:39; see above, p. 91 n. 190.
215 куколь.
216 See Matt. 27:34.
217 Cf. Num. 18:12–13; Deut. 18:4.

(40) And in the image of the death of Adam He is pierced through the side and burnt up by the Holy Spirit with the shedding of blood and water,[218] as the lamb which, in the Law, is the whole-burnt-offering of the priests:[219] so you also, O monk, consume your will and burn up your sins with the shedding of warm tears.

(41) And the fringe is Adam, whom Christ took upon His shoulders and led forth from Hades to heaven. So behold, how He will take upon His own breast the man who has fallen among robbers, whom the Law and the prophets were unable to heal. This prefigures the bishops, who wear the omophorion on their shoulders and lay down their souls for the people entrusted to them, taking them up with their teaching from the Hades of sin. Thus, if a monk becomes a bishop, he must divest himself of the mantle when he serves in his epigonation: for both Aaron and Christ wore but one ephod, not two. And at services he should not, like Adam, wear upon his shoulders the Old Law, for the Old Law could not raise the fallen man; but he should wear [the epigonation] as a kind of witness of Him that was humbly conceived. And so also the abbots, when they conduct services wearing the epigonation, should remove the mantle from their shoulders: it is proper for both greater and lesser abbots to conduct services wearing the epigonation. They do not need permission from the bishop. It is a proper matter for abbots: for a monk, but not for a bishop. For the wearing of the ephod depends on the purity of the flesh, not on the power of rank. As you yourself know, it is not the bishop who lays the small mantle on the shoulders of all monks.

(42) *An Indication of the angelic image of monks*

(43) It needs to be explained to you why monks are said to bear "the image of angels." Perhaps everybody knows this; but still I shall write, for the sake of the young and the untutored.

(44) It does not mean that monks are likenesses of the *heavenly* angels or of incorporeal beings. For those angels are like light, beings unseen, with no measure to their substance. Monks are likenesses of *earthly* angels: that is, of the venerable men and the lawgivers of the Old Law and the New whose service, in purity of body, was pleasing

218 See John 19:34; Matt. 3:11–12.

219 Cf. Lev. 1.

to God. Such people, you see, are termed "angels."

(45) Hearken to the words of David: "My fingers tuned a psaltery. And who shall tell my Lord? He Himself hears. He sent forth His angel and took me from my father's sheep and anointed me with the mercy of His anointing."[220] Do not imagine that the Lord sent this "angel" from heaven: He sent Samuel, who anointed David, and he is called here an "angel." And so also Paul writes to the Hebrews, saying, "If the word spoken through angels proved steadfast...."[221] He, too, calls the prophets and the lawgivers "angels." And thus when Stephen said to the Pharisees, "Ye who received the law as it was ordained by angels, and have not kept it,"[222] he means Moses, whose law the Jews did not keep. And Paul, again, says to those who abide in the New Law: "A woman must have a covering for her head when she prays in church, because of the angels."[223] See, therefore, how the Scriptures call "angels" the holy men who live in purity of body and serve God without blemish both in the Old Law and in the New.

(46) And therefore, O monk, you yourself have accepted the pure and holy life of such an "angel." Do not lead this angelic life in word alone, but adorn it in virtuous deed. For just as in the likeness of Aaron you bear upon yourself the burden of the Old Law which is your sacred vestments, and just as you have wrapped yourself in the sins of Adam's transgression, so also you should strive with Christ-like patience to become a son of God, not only in order that you may save yourself, but in order that you may heal them that have fallen among the robbers—the robbers that are their sins. Be renowned not for your bright clothing, but for your good deeds. Have patience in your endeavors, bear patiently your afflictions, emulate the martyrs who shed their blood for Christ. Though you may not shed it on the outside, yet dry up your blood on the inside, partaking only of the barest necessities for your body, so that you, too, may come to inherit the portion of the blessed and the crown of the angels and the kingdom of heaven.

[220] Supernumerary Psalm (151):2–4: "mercy of anointing" for the "standard" Septuagint "oil of anointing," derived from a reading ἐλέει rather than ἐλαίῳ common in early Greek and Slavonic versions.

[221] Heb. 2:2.

[222] Acts. 7:53.

[223] Cf. 1 Cor. 11:10.

(47) I have assembled all these words from books, not from myself. If any wise man has a different interpretation, I shall not speak against him. For we are not reapers, but mere gatherers of ripe corn; neither are we composers of books. We, the simple brethren, ask above all from you, the elder brethren, for holy prayer through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honor with the Father and with the Holy Spirit now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen.

IV: SERMONS

IVa: SERMON FOR PALM SUNDAY

A Sermon for Palm Sunday:
concerning the Gospel story,
by the holy Kirill

(1) Great and ancient are the hidden treasures, wondrous and joyous is the revelation, fine and mighty are the riches, gifts bestowed unstintingly upon near and far,[224] subtle are the architects of the glorious and most noble house, abundant and overflowing are the many remnants from the king's table,[225] from which the poor are nourished with food which perishes not, but which abides into the life eternal. For the words of the Gospels are food for our souls, the multifarious words which Christ spoke for man's salvation. And His glorious and noble house is the Church, with its subtle architects the patriarchs and the bishops, the priests and the abbots and all the teachers of the Church, who brought themselves near to God through faith and purity, and who by the grace of the Holy Spirit will receive the multifarious gifts of teaching and healing according to the gift of Christ. And thus we also, poor that we are, sate ourselves as we take the scraps and the

224 Reading и дальним: see Eremin, "Nasledie" 13:409 n. 4. On "treasures" here and §9, see J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 4 (London, 1902), 808–9. Cf. also below, IVb: §2.
225 Cf. Matt. 15:27; Luke 16:21.

remnants from that table:[226] for every servant honors his master.[227]

(2) O brethren, today is a day of rejoicing and gladness for us and for all the world. For the feast has arrived, the feast in which the writings of the prophets have come to pass, the feast on account of the sign that was then shown by Christ.[228]

(3) On this day Christ enters Jerusalem from Bethany seated on the foal of an ass,[229] that the prophecy of Zacharias—which he spoke about Him—might be fulfilled: "Rejoice greatly, o daughter of Sion! Behold thy King is coming. He is meek and riding on a young foal."[230] Let us therefore rejoice as we come to understand this prophecy: the " daughter" of Jerusalem on high is the name given to the souls of the saints; the "foal" is the people from among the nations, who believed in Him, the people whom He sent as His apostles and liberated from the delusions of the devil.

(4) On this day the multitudes went forth to meet Jesus, holding in their hands the branches of palm trees[231] and thereby honoring Him for having called Lazarus out of the grave and raised him from the dead.[232] And the multitude bore excellent witness, such that the nations believed and recognized in Him the Son of God. For He worked wonders among the Jews, but He gave salvation and grace to the nations. The Jews did not recognize Him, but the nations received Him. Israel denied Him who had summoned them to eternal life, but the nations that believed—these He led into the kingdom of heaven. Sin and destruction for the Jews, faith and resurrection for the nations.

(5) On this day the apostles put their garments on the foal, and Christ sat thereon.[233] O behold the revelation of a glorious mystery! For the garments of the apostles are the Christian virtues: by their teaching the apostles made men of good faith to be as a throne for God and as a dwelling for the Holy Spirit. As it is said: "I will dwell with them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my

226 Cf. Matt. 15:27; Luke 16:21.
227 Mal. 1:6.
228 I.e., the raising of Lazarus: see John 12:17–18.
229 Cf. Matt. 21:1–7; John 12:1, 14–15.
230 Zach. 9:9.
231 See John 12:13.
232 See John 12:17.
233 See Matt. 21:7.

people."[234]

(6) On this day the multitude spread their garments in His way, and others cut branches from the trees and spread them.[235] Christ became the good and the true way for earthly rulers and for all the mighty: as they spread the way with charity and kindness, so they enter without toil into the kingdom of heaven. And those that broke branches from the trees, these are the common people and the sinners, who will come to God with contrite heart and humbled soul, smoothing the way with fasting and prayers. As He said: "I am the way, the truth, and the life."[236]

(7) On this day those that went before Him and those that followed after Him cried out and said: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord!"[237] "Those that went before him" are the prophets and the apostles, for the prophets foretold of the coming of Christ, and the apostles proclaimed God's coming throughout the world, and they baptized the nations in His name. And "those that followed" are the holy men and the martyrs: for the holy men struggled mightily with heretics, for Christ's sake, and they cast them out of the Church as its enemies; and the martyrs suffered even unto the shedding of their own blood for Christ's name's sake, and set all at nought, and followed Him, that they might partake in His passion. And all cried "Hosanna," saying: "Thou art the Son of God made flesh upon earth, that Thou mayest raise Adam who fell through his transgression; for Thy blessing we also shall strive to do good deeds in the name of the Lord!"

(8) On this day all Jerusalem was stirred[238] because of the Lord's entry therein. Old men came quickly that they might worship Jesus as God; young men ran softly that they might glorify Him for the miracle of the raising of Lazarus; infants wafted around Him as if winged, and they cried: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord![239] The Lord has appeared to us!" Behold the revelation of the mysteries and the resolution of the

[234] 2 Cor. 6:16; cf. Lev. 26:12.
[235] Matt. 21:8.
[236] John 14:6.
[237] Matt. 21:9.
[238] Cf. Matt. 21:10.
[239] Matt. 21:9.

writings of the prophets! For "the old men" signify the nations of the gentiles: for the nations came before Abraham and Israel, but in temptation they turned from God, and now in faith they worship God's Son. And the virtuous youth embracing celibacy is a figure signifying the order of monks: for they praise Christ unceasingly and work wonders by the grace of God. And "the infants" prefigure all Christians, who seek nothing of Christ but abide in Him and die for Him and render up to Him their vows and their prayers.

(9) On this day Annas and Caiaphas are vexed.[240] It is a day of joy and gladness for all, but for them a day of grief and vexation. The priests should have come to their senses, should have considered the writings of the prophets. For this is the Christ, of whom Jacob testified to his sons, saying: "From your seed, Judah, there will come forth a Ruler of heaven and the earth; and He is the expectation of nations, binding His foal to the vine."[241] Nor did the priests remember David, who prophesied about Him, saying: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast Thou perfected praise."[242] Nor did the priests understand their own reading of Zephaniah, who wrote: "Rejoice, Jerusalem![243] Smooth the way for your God, for He shall come into His temple,[244] working wonders and giving signs!" Yet they took counsel against their benefactor, that they might put to death not only Jesus, but Lazarus also.[245] And they were not willing to say, along with the multitudes, "Great art Thou, O Lord! Thy voice has shaken the treasure vaults of Hades and has plucked from its recesses the soul of one that was dead, and Lazarus came forth, restored to life."

(10) On this day all creation rejoices, delivered from the enemy's bondage, and the gates and bars of Hades are shaken, and the hosts of demons are struck with terror.

(11) On this day the mountains and the hills flow with sweetness;[246] the valleys and the fields offer up their fruits to God; the high places sing out, and the depths weep; the angels are astonished as they see visible on earth Him that is invisible in heaven, as they see seated

240 See Matt. 21:23ff.
241 Cf. Gen. 49:10–11.
242 Ps. 8:2.
243 Cf. Zeph. 3:14.
244 Cf. Mal. 3:1.
245 See John 11:47, 53; 12:10.
246 Cf. Job 21:33.

on a foal Him that sits on the throne of cherubim, as they see surrounded by the multitudes Him that is inaccessible to the heavenly hosts. Now He whom the seraphim on high praise in fear is joyously praised by the infants. Now He who spanned the heavens with His fingers and the earth with His palm descends on the path to Jerusalem. And He whom the heavens themselves cannot contain enters into the temple.

(12) On this day the elders of the priests are angered at Him: at Him who works great wonders. The scribes and the Pharisees watch in envy as children with branches run to greet Christ and cry "Hosanna to the son of David!"[247] Wondrous indeed! How could the scribes and the Pharisees thus forget the prophets, who for our salvation—the salvation of the nations—wrote so much about Christ! As it is written: "No more do I delight in the sons of Israel. I became manifest to them that asked not for me,[248] and I shall say to that which is not my people: 'Thou art my people.' "[249]

(13) Therefore, brethren, it behooves us as God's people to glorify Christ who loved us. Come, let us worship Him and fall down before Him as if—in our minds—kissing His pure and perfect feet, like that sinful woman:[250] like her let us desist from evil doings, let us pour forth our faith and our love like myrrh upon His head. Let us go forth to greet Him in love, like the multitudes, and let us break off our rancor, like the branches. Let us spread good deeds like raiment before Him. Let us cry out in prayers and in innocence like the infants. Let us go before Him with alms for the poor. Let us follow Him with humility, fasting, and vigils, and let us not undo the labors of the forty-day fast in which we strove and purified ourselves from all defilement, that Christ might enter now into our Jerusalem. For "Jerusalem" also signifies the order of our bodily form, as Isaiah says: "I have painted thy walls on my hands, O Jerusalem, and I shall dwell in thy midst."[251] Let us therefore make ready our souls with humility, like a chamber, that in communion the Son of God may enter into us and celebrate His passover with His disciples. Let us walk with Him

247 Matt. 21:15.
248 Isa. 65:1.
249 Hos. 2:23.
250 See Luke 7:37–50.
251 Cf. Isa. 49:16, 20.

who walks willingly to His passion. Let us take up our cross to endure all insults. Let us be crucified by our struggles against sin. Let us mortify our bodily lusts. And let us cry "Hosanna in the highest! Blessed art Thou that came freely to Thine affliction, whereby Thou trampled Hades and conquered death!"

(14) Here let us conclude our homily, and let us crown the holy church with songs, as with flowers, and so adorn the feast. Let us send forth to God our words of praise, and let us extol Christ our Savior, that, protected by the grace of the Holy Spirit, we may celebrate in joy and attain in peace the resurrection, on the third day, of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is due all honor and glory, dominion and devotion, together with the Father and with the holy and blessed and life-giving Spirit, now and always and forevermore unto the ages.

IVb: SERMON FOR EASTER SUNDAY

A Homily of Kirill, the unworthy monk,
for holy Easter,
on the illustrious day of the resurrection of Christ:
from the sayings of the prophets

(1) Redoubled is the rejoicing among all Christians, and unspeakable is the happiness for all the world, because of the feast that has come on this day in place of the grief of the mystery that came before. When a husband departs on a distant journey, his wife in her grief is strict with her children; but when the husband suddenly returns, the wife receives unspeakable happiness and their children exult with joy, for they are enriched beyond measure.

(2) What, then, was the grief of the mystery that came before? On the day before yesterday our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified as a man, and as God He darkened the sun and turned the moon to blood,[252] and there was darkness over all the land.[253] As man He cried out and yielded up His spirit;[254] but as God He shook the earth, and

252 Cf. Acts 2:20.
253 Matt. 27:45.
254 Matt. 27:50.

the rocks were rent.[255] As man He was pierced through the side; but as God He rent in twain the veil of the law of old.[256] As a lamb He bled with blood and water[257] for the blood of lambs previously brought in sacrifice; and He brought Himself in sacrifice to God the Father for the salvation of all the world. As man He was laid in the sepulcher, and as God He sanctified the altar of the temple of the gentiles. As a king He was guarded by watchmen and lay sealed in the sepulcher;[258] but as God with the armies of the angels He restrained the hosts of the devil in the dungeon of Hades, saying: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, that the king of glory shall come in."[259] And at His word the gates of Hades crumbled and the gateposts split to their foundations. The Lord Himself descended into Hades, and with the cross He laid waste the kingdom of the devil and killed death, and the people who sat in darkness saw the light,[260] and the people who were bound in poverty and iron were released, and He plundered the treasure vaults of darkness[261] and on this day went forth in the power of God and in the glory of the holy angels, and the souls of men that had been enslaved were freed and brought into paradise, glorifying in Christ.

(3) Yet before Christ has risen from His sepulcher, the Church rails at the prophets.[262] These "prophets" are the children of the Church. Then of a sudden He arose, and the seals stayed unbroken, and the Church gains unspeakable happiness, and the prophets exult with joy, saying: "For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ![263] O death, where is thy victory? O Hades, where is thy sting?"[264] For the Lord is risen as if from sleep and is resurrected to save us. Christ is risen from the dead[265] and has given life to them that lay in the grave; and the souls of the saints receive untold wealth, for out of Hades they take their abode in heaven.

255 See Matt. 27:51.
256 See John 19:34; Matt. 27:51.
257 See John 19:34.
258 See Matt. 27:66.
259 Ps. 23:7.
260 Matt. 4:16; cf. Isa. 9:2.
261 Cf. Isa. 45:3.
262 Cf. Matt. 23:29–31; Acts 7:52.
263 1 Cor. 5:7.
264 1 Cor. 15:55.
265 1 Cor. 15:20.

(4) Twofold, therefore, and even threefold is the name of this feast. For it is called the paschal feast after the lambs slaughtered by Moses in Egypt, with whose blood the Israelites anointed their lintels and their doorposts[266] and were thereby spared by the angels that smote the Egyptians. And this was a prefiguration of Easter, the paschal feast of today. For now Jesus, the Lamb of God, has been slaughtered by the priests for the salvation of all the world and has brought forth Adam, father of all, from Hades. For He came down not for the sake of the righteous alone,[267] but He raised all the world that had fallen into transgression, and He was nailed to the cross, taking upon Himself the sins of all. And let us now in faith partake in the divine passover; let us anoint our lips, the doors to the house of the soul, with the Lord's blood, that demons intent on smiting us with sin should not enter therein.

(5) The Israelites slaughtered Him, but the nations made of Him a repast for themselves. Lo, how the Prophet summons all the faithful to God's table, saying: "Receive ye the body of Christ, taste of the eternal fountain of life."[268] For with this body the gates of Hades have been smashed and the sting of death has been blunted. With this body the dominion and the power of Hades have been destroyed; with this body its belly has been burst open. For Christ did not come forth again through the mouth of Hades, but He rent the belly of Hades and brought forth therefrom the souls of men. And when His body was laid in the sepulcher, then the gates of bronze were broken in pieces and the bars of iron were crushed,[269] and the gatekeepers trembled, and the dungeon crumbled, and the dead rose. This body killed death and renewed all creation that was corrupt. Tasting of this body in faith, Christians are sanctified and will recieve eternal life. Let us taste, brethren, of the food of life, and let us embrace one another in heartfelt forgiveness of our sins.

(6) The other name of the day of Christ's resurrection is the Great Day. And great indeed is this day: great not in the number of its hours, but in the magnitude of the wonders worked on this day by Christ our Savior.

266 See Ex. 12:7, 22.
267 Cf. Matt. 9:13.
268 Communion verse in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.
269 Cf. Ps. 106:16; Isa. 45:2.

(7) For on this day angels and men rejoice, and men are sanctified by God as they receive the Holy Spirit. As Luke the Evangelist says: "And when the sabbath had ended, very early in the morning the women came to see the sepulcher, bringing spices, that they might anoint the body of Jesus. And they found the stone rolled away and the tomb empty. And they were perplexed thereabout. And two angels in white appeared to them and said unto them: 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen! Remember His words that He spoke to you, saying "The third day I shall rise again";[270] and now go to His disciples and say, "Christ is risen."[271] Of you the prophet of old wrote: "Go forth from this vision, ye women who bear good tidings, and say unto Sion: 'Receive from us the joy of glad tidings!' "[272] Go forth to the apostles and say: "Hide ye no more";[273] for behold, the word that Jesus spoke unto you has come to pass: "A little while, and ye shall not see me; and again a little while, and ye shall see me and rejoice."[274] Remember the prophet that wrote of Christ and of you: "I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered; but in a little while I shall stretch forth my hand and gather in the little ones, and I shall make for them a shepherd."[275] Go forth and say unto the disciples: "Hear and understand the words of Hosea, who spoke of this time, saying, 'The Savior has been smitten by evil-doers, and after two days He will heal the world, and on the third day He shall arise and we shall live before Him.'[276] And Zephaniah: 'Wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day of my resurrection and my witness, for my mercy is already upon the nations.' "[277] Go forth and say unto the disciples: "This is the day of which David spoke, saying, 'Thou, Lord, shalt arise and have mercy upon Sion, for the time has come.' "[278] I speak not of the Sion that is trampled by soldiers, but of the Church of the nations, which He redeemed with His

270 See Luke 24:1–7.

271 Cf. Matt. 28:7.

272 A garbled conflation of Isa. 52:7 and 40:9.

273 Cf. Matt. 28:10.

274 John 16:16, 19–20.

275 Matt. 26:31; cf. Zach. 13:7; Ezek. 34; Jer. 23:4. Reading сберу малыя, и сътворю [имъ] пастыря.

276 Cf. Hos. 6:3.

277 Cf. Zeph. 3:8.

278 Ps. 101:13.

own blood, and which none shall overcome. And do not imagine that you are deceived as Eve was deceived.[279] She took counsel from the serpent, while you hear the word from angels: for we[280] tell you of the joy, and you will proclaim the salvation of the world.'"

(8) Then the women returned from the sepulcher and told all these things unto the eleven;[281] and they disbelieved them,[282] for they had not yet received the Holy Spirit and were therefore fearful and cowardly and unbelieving. But Peter and John stood up and ran towards the sepulcher. John outran Peter, but he did not enter the sepulcher until Peter had arrived, and had entered the sepulcher first, and beheld only the cloths lying there.[283] See, then, how he that ran first did not enter. This was not out of fear, but these two prefigured the Old and the New Law. John is the figure of the Old Law, and Peter of the New. For the Old Law came first, as the forerunner of the New, in expectation of Christ. Thus, according to the Scriptures, he came, but did not enter into his faith. And the New Law came later, but believed in Christ earlier. And the New Law sees only the expectation of the Old Law, which is unable to save those who adhere to it. The bird has flown, but these foolish ones keep watch over an empty nest: Christ is risen, yet the priests and the Pharisees bribe[284] the watchmen, ordering them to conceal Christ's resurrection.[285]

(9) O woe unto thee, nation of sinners! How are you deceived! You have read the prophets that wrote of Christ, yet you understood them not! So to them that abode in expectation of the light came darkness. Alas for their souls, that counseled ill counsel concerning the living God!

(10) Then two of the disciples went to a village some distance from Jerusalem and talked together of all these things, and Jesus Himself drew near.[286] For as a shepherd, when he has lain down to slumber awhile, rises and beholds that his flock has scattered, and darts this way and that in order to gather his flock, so Christ also, after

279 See Gen. 3:1ff.
280 Reading вѣ for бѣ.
281 Luke 24:9.
282 Cf. Luke 24:11.
283 See John 20:3–6.
284 Reading мьздять for молвять.
285 See Matt. 28:11–14.
286 See Luke 24:13–15.

His resurrection, gathers angels and men into one flock.[287]

(11) And He said: "What communications are these that ye have one with another, and are sad?"[288] And they told Him of the things concerning Jesus of Nazareth, whom the priests of the Jews had crucified; and they told Him of the women who said that they had but recently heard from two angels that He was alive.[289] For they did not recognize Him, since they still had the vision of the flesh: for Christ had not yet breathed upon them, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit";[290] nor yet had He opened their minds that they might understand what had been written about Him in the Scriptures.[291] For this reason He called them "foolish of heart."[292] And He began to expound unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning Himself,[293] concerning His passion and His resurrection.

(12) And He said: "Was it not about this that Moses wrote, 'Thou shalt see thy life hanging before thine eyes?'[294] And David wrote of the crucifixion: 'They pierced my hands and my feet.'[295] And of the gall he wrote: 'They gave me also gall for my food and made me drink vinegar for my thirst.'[296] And of the sepulcher he wrote: 'They laid me in the lowest pit, in dark places, and in the shadow of death.'[297] And also of the resurrection: 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered';[298] and: 'Arise, O God, judge the earth!'[299] And Isaiah wrote, concerning the disciples: 'And I shall arise and gather in my brethren, and they shall see my glory, and they shall declare my name among the nations, and I shall have a numerous peo-

287 Cf. John 10:16.
288 Luke 24:17.
289 See Luke 24:19–20, 22–23.
290 John 20:22.
291 Cf. Luke 24:45.
292 Luke 24:25.
293 Luke 24:27.
294 Cf. Deut. 28:66.
295 Ps. 21:16.
296 Ps. 68:21.
297 Ps. 87:6.
298 Ps. 67:1.
299 Ps. 81:8.

ple from the gentiles.' "[300]

(13) And while He was saying this they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going. And they constrained Him to abide with them. And it came to pass, when He had sat down, that He took the bread and blessed it and gave it to them. And their eyes were opened, and they saw the wounds of the nails in His hands, and they knew Him, that He was Christ Himself. And He vanished from before them. And they returned to Jerusalem and told all this to the apostles, saying, "Christ is risen indeed, and has appeared to us, and we knew Him by the wound of the nails."[301]

(14) And we also, brethren, as we behold Christ's resurrection, let us worship Him, saying: "Thou art our God; we know no other God besides Thee. Visible as man, knowable as God, let all the earth worship Thee and sing to Thee: 'Have mercy on us, who have faith in Thee!' We pray to Thee, and we entreat Thee. Cleanse our sins, redeem the debts of our souls as we glorify Thee. Thou hast suffered crucifixion and death for our sakes, and now we humbly serve Thee. Yesterday we were crucified with the robbers; today we are resurrected with Thee. Yesterday we cried out with Longinus [the centurion], 'Truly You are the Son of God!'[302] Today we say with the angels: 'Christ is risen indeed.'[303] Yesterday with Nicodemus we took Thee down from the cross;[304] today with Mary Magdalene we beheld Thee risen.[305] Yesterday with Joseph of Arimathea we laid Thee in the tomb;[306] today like Mary we hear Thy words of joy: 'Go to my brethren and to Peter, and tell them that they go into Galilee, and there they shall see me.' "[307]

(15) And so now we gather into the holy church, as if into Galilee, and we rejoice and say: This is the day which the Lord

300 Cf. Isa. 66:18–19.
301 See Luke 24:28–31, 33–34; John 20:24ff.
302 See Matt. 27:54, except the apocryphal name Longinus.
303 Cf. Luke 24:34.
304 See John 19:39.
305 See John 20:11–18.
306 See John 19:38–42.
307 Cf. Matt. 28:10. "And to Peter": cf. *Uspenskij sbornik*, 405, fol. 247c, lines 15–16.

created; let us rejoice and delight in it, for Thine is the kingdom and Thine, Christ, is the power and the glory with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, now and ever.

IVc: SERMON FOR LOW SUNDAY

A Sermon by the unworthy monk Kirill
in praise of the resurrection,
and concerning the paschal bread,
and concerning Thomas's testing of the Lord's ribs.

O Lord, give your blessing!

(1) The Church requires a great teacher and a wise interpreter to adorn the feast. But we are poor in word and dim in mind, and we lack the fire of the Holy Spirit to compose words to benefit the soul. Yet, for the love of the brethren that are with me, I shall say a few words concerning the renewal of the resurrection of Christ.

(2) Last Sunday, the day of holy Easter, was a day of wonderment in the heavens and of trepidation in the depths; of renewal for creation and of deliverance for the world; the destruction of Hades and the extinction of death; the resurrection of the dead and the abrogation of the power of the devil's delusion, and through the resurrection of Christ redemption for all mankind; impoverishment for the Old Law and enslavement of the Saturday sabbath; enrichment for the Church and the enthronement of Sunday.

(3) Last Sunday all things were transformed: earth became heaven, cleansed by God from the defilement of demons; angels and women humbly celebrate the resurrection. Creation was renewed: no longer does man worship nature as "god"—neither the sun nor fire nor springs nor trees; no longer shall Hades receive infants slaughtered in sacrifice; no longer shall death receive honor. For through the mystery of the cross the worship of idols was ended and the violence of devils was vanquished, and through faith in Christ mankind was not only redeemed but sanctified. By the rejection of the blood of the calf and the sacrifice of the goat[308] the Old Law was utterly impoverished:

308 Cf. Heb. 9:11–23.

for Christ Himself offered Himself as a sacrifice to the Father for all.

(4) And thus because of the resurrection the celebration of the Saturday sabbath was terminated, and grace was bestowed upon Sunday, and now Sunday is the ruler of days, since on that Sunday Christ arose from the dead.

(5) O my brethren, let us crown the empress of days, and let us bring gifts of honor to her in faith! Let us give to our utmost, such as we are able! One may give charity, kindness, and love, another pure virginity and true faith and unfeigned humility, another the singing of the Psalter and the teachings of the apostles and prayers rendered unto God with sighs. For God Himself, through Moses, says: "Do not appear before me empty on the day of the feast."[309] Let us then offer unto God the virtues of which I have spoken, that we may obtain His mercy, for He does not deprive of His kindness those that come to Him in faith. As it is said: "I will honor them that honor me."[310] And let us therefore praise fittingly this new Sunday, on which we celebrate the renewal of the resurrection.

(6) For this is called Low Sunday, not the high feast of Easter Sunday. Easter is the deliverance of the world from oppression by the devil and the liberation of the dead from the depths of Hades. But Low Sunday is the renewal of the resurrection. It is prefigured in the Old Law, which God bequeathed upon Moses in Egypt, saying: "Behold, I deliver my people from the bondage of Pharaoh and I liberate them from the oppression of their taskmasters, and thou shalt renew the day of thy salvation, in which I defeated thine enemies, Israel."[311] And behold, now we also renew in celebration the day of Christ's victory on which He wrought salvation for all the world and defeated the princes and the power of darkness.

(7) This is why the paschal bread has lain consecrated in the church from Easter until this day. And on this day it is broken over the priestly heads as the unleavened bread that was carried from Egypt on the heads of the Levites[312] across the desert until they crossed the Red Sea and consecrated the bread to God and tasted it and became well and fearsome to their enemies. And the Israelites, delivered from

[309] Cf. Deut. 16:16.

[310] 1 Kings 2:30.

[311] Cf. Exod. 12:14–20.

[312] Cf. Exod. 12:39. See also above, III: §5 (p. 83).

the bondage of their flesh, renewed in celebration the day of the unleavened bread; but we, delivered by our Lord from that Pharaoh of the mind, the devil—we renew the day of victory over the evil ones. Taking now this consecrated bread, we taste of it, just as the Israelites tasted of the heavenly angelic food;[313] and we preserve it for all manner of good purposes, for health of body and salvation of soul and aversion of ills.

(8) On this day the old is ended, and behold, all is become new,[314] all things visible and invisible! The heavens have stripped off the dark clouds like coarse garments and are filled with brightness, and with the bright air they proclaim the glory of the Lord.[315] By "the heavens" I do not mean the heavens that are visible, but the heavens of our understanding, of the apostles who on this day came to know the Lord that came into their midst on Sion. And they cast all sorrow into oblivion, and cast off the vexation of their fear of the Jews,[316] and were blessed by the Holy Spirit, and openly proclaim the resurrection of Christ.

(9) Now the sun in its finery rises to the heights, and it delights as it warms the earth. For Christ, our Sun of righteousness,[317] rose for us from the tomb and saves all that believe in Him. Now the moon has descended from the highest rank and does honor to the greater light; for now, according to Scripture, the Old Law—with the Saturday sabbath—has waned, and through the prophets it honors the law of Christ. Now repentance thaws the winter of sin, and the understanding of God melts the ice of unbelief. For the apostolic teaching and faith of Christ have thawed the winter of the nations' idolatry, and Christ showing His ribs melts the ice of Thomas's unbelief.[318]

(10) On this day spring in its finery brings life to earthly nature, and the winds of the storms waft gently and make fertile the fruits, and the soil feeds the seeds and gives birth to the green grass: for this fine spring is the faith that delights in Christ, which in baptism brings rebirth to humankind. And the winds of the storms are our sinful

313 Cf. Exod. 16:14–35. There is confusion here between the unleavened bread and the manna.

314 2 Cor. 5:17.

315 Cf. Ps. 18:1.

316 Cf. John 20:19.

317 Mal. 4:2.

318 See John 20:24–29.

designs which, transformed by repentance to virtue, bring fertile fruits for the good of our souls. And the soil of our nature receives the word of God as a seed,[319] and labors ever in the fear of God,[320] and gives birth to the spirit of salvation.

(11) Now the newborn lambs and calves frisk lightly along the path and run back swiftly in delight to their mothers; so that the shepherds also delight, playing their pipes and praising God. The "lambs" I call the meek peoples of the nations, and the "calves" are the idolaters from the nations of unbelief, who, through Christ's incarnation and through the apostles' teachings and through wonders, ran swiftly to the Law and returned to the holy Church. They suck the milk of the teachings, so that the teachers of Christ's flock also, praying for all, praise Christ the Lord who gathered all the wolves and the lambs into one flock.[321]

(12) Now the trees send forth their shoots and the scented flowers bloom. And behold, already the gardens send forth their sweet smell, and the gardeners that labor in hope call on Christ, the Giver of fruits. For before we were as trees of the forest bearing no fruit; but now Christ's faith is implanted in our faithlessness, and already we are grafted to the root of Jesse[322] and sprout good deeds like flowers, in expectation of heavenly regeneration in Christ.[323] And the holy men also, laboring in the Church, expect their reward from Christ. Now the tillers of the word lead their oxen in the word to the yoke of the spirit, sinking the plow of the cross into the furrows of minds and drawing the furrow of repentance and sowing therein the seed of the spirit and delighting in expectation of the blessings to be.

(13) On this day the old is ended, and behold, all is become new[324] on account of the resurrection!

(14) Now the rivers of the apostles swell with water, and the fish of the nations spawn their progeny, and the fishers explore the depths of God's incarnation and gain a full net of their catch for the Church. "For," says the Prophet, "the earth shall be rent with rivers and the

319 Cf. Luke 8:11.
320 Cf. Isa. 66:5, 8.
321 Cf. Isa. 11:6; 65:25; John 10:16.
322 Cf. Isa. 11:10.
323 Cf. Matt. 19:28.
324 2 Cor. 5:17.

ungodly shall see and shall sicken."[325]

(15) Now the busy bee, in the figure of monks, displays its wisdom and makes all amazed. For just as monks dwell in the wilderness by the fruits of their own labors and amaze both angels and men, so also bees alight on the blooms and create their honeycombs. Such are the sources of sweetness for men and of benefit to the Church.

(16) Now all the sweet-voiced birds of the chorus of the clergy delight in their nesting.[326] For as the Prophet said: "Yea, the bird has found himself a nest, even Thine altars."[327] And they sing, each his song, praising God with voice unabating.

(17) On this day the ranks of all the saints are renewed and receive new life in Christ. The prophets and the patriarchs, after their labors, repose in the heavenly life; and apostles and holy men, after their sufferings, are lauded on earth and in heaven; and confessors and martyrs, who suffered for Christ, are crowned with the angels; emperors and princes are saved through obedience; and the choirs of the virgins and the ranks of the monks, that have borne their cross with endurance, follow Christ, the First-born,[328] from earth up to heaven. And the fasters and hermits receive their reward from the hand of the Lord for their labors, and delight with the saints in the heavenly city.

(18) This is the day of the feast of the renewal of Christ's resurrection for new people, and on this day all things are brought new unto God: from the nations new faith, from Christians new offerings, from priests new sacrifices, from the mighty concern for the Church, from the righteous wisdom in humility, from sinners true repentance, from the ungodly a return to God, from adversaries the spirit of love.

(19) And we also, brethren, let us now ascend in our minds to the mount of Sion: for there it was that the apostles were gathered, and there Christ Himself appeared among them (though the doors were locked) and said, "Peace be unto you"[329] and filled them with

325 Cf. Hab. 3:9–10; also Jer. 29:2.

326 Or "settle into their nests": A. Vaillant, "Cyrille de Tourov et Grégoire de Nazianze," *RES* 26 (1950): 46, proposes въселяютъ ся for веселять ся.

327 Ps. 83:3.

328 Cf. Luke 2:7.

329 John 20:19.

joy. For the disciples were glad when they saw the Lord,[330] and they cast aside all sorrow of the flesh and fear of the heart. For their souls were endowed with a boldness of spirit when they recognized their Lord, for He bared His side, and He showed to Thomas the wounds from the nails on His hands and on His feet. For Thomas was not with the disciples when the Lord first came.[331] And when he heard that the Lord was risen, he did not believe: not because he thought it a lie, but because he wished to see Christ with his own eyes. This is why he said: "Except I shall put my hand into His side and my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe."[332]

(20) Therefore, without reproaching him, the Lord spake thus:

(21) "Reach hither thy hand, and behold the piercing of my sides, and believe that I am who I am![333] Before you the patriarchs and the prophets knew me and believed in my incarnation. Consider that which was first written about me by Isaiah, as it is said: 'His side was pierced with a spear, and there came forth blood and water.'[334] I was indeed pierced through the ribs, but thereby raised Adam, who fell into sin because of his rib. And do you think I shall overlook you, just because you doubt me?

(22) "Touch me, that I am who I am, as Simeon previously touched and believed and asked to depart in peace.[335] Be not faithless[336] like Herod, who heard of my birth and said to the wise men: 'Go find where Christ is born, that I also may come and worship Him,'[337] while in his heart he was scheming to kill me. But even though he slaughtered the infants, yet he found not the one whom he sought. For the evil, though they may seek me, yet shall they find me not.

(23) "Believe in me, Thomas, and know me, as Abraham knew me and called me Lord when I came to him in the shade with two

330 John 20:20.
331 See John 20:24.
332 John 20:25.
333 Cf. John 20:27.
334 Cf. John 19:34.
335 See Luke 2:25–29.
336 John 20:27.
337 Matt. 2:8.

angels,[338] and he entreated me on behalf of Sodom, that I should not destroy it if there be found in it ten righteous men.[339] Be not faithless like Balaam, who, though he foretold through the Holy Spirit my death for the world and my resurrection, yet was tempted for gain and perished.[340]

(24) "But believe in me, Thomas, that I am who I am, whom Jacob saw being affirmed on the ladder in his dream in the night;[341] and whom he knew again in spirit when I wrestled with him in Mesopotamia,[342] when I promised him that I would be incarnated in his tribe. Be not faithless like Nebuchadnezzar, who, though he saw me in the furnace saving the youths from the fire, and though he called me truly the Son of God, yet he turned again to the error of his ways, and he perished.[343]

(25) "Believe in me Thomas, that I am who I am, whose figure Isaiah saw on a high throne surrounded by a multitude of angels.[344] I am He who appeared to Ezekiel in the midst of the living creatures as the figure of a man: and to Ezekiel I prefigured you also as the wheels that went up with the living creatures which were lifted up with me; for the spirit of life was in the wheels,[345] as now I have breathed the Holy Spirit into you. I am 'the one, as the Son of Man' whom Daniel beheld coming with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days, and Daniel wrote that to me by God 'was given the dominion and the kingdom in heaven and on earth now and in the everlasting age to come.'[346] My friend, reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands:[347] the hands with which I opened the eyes of the blind and gave hearing to the deaf and made the dumb well in speech. Behold also my feet: the feet on which I walked before you on the sea, and ascended in plain view through the air, and descended to the nether darkness, and

338 See Gen. 18:1–3.
339 See Gen. 18:23–32.
340 See Num. 22–24; 31:8.
341 See Gen. 28:10–15.
342 See Gen. 32:24–32.
343 See Dan. 3:19–5:21.
344 See Isa. 6:1–2.
345 Cf. Ezek. 1:13–21.
346 Cf. Dan. 7:13–14.
347 John 20:27.

trampled Hades, and went with Cleopas and Luke to Emmaus.[348] Therefore be not faithless, but believing."[349]

(26) Thomas answered and said: "I believe, Lord, that You are Christ Himself, my God,[350] whom the prophets wrote about and foresaw in the spirit, and whom Moses prefigured in the Law, and whom the high priests and the Pharisees rejected, and whom the scribes of the Jews reviled in their envy, and whom Pilate and Caiaphas gave up for crucifixion, and whom God the Father raised from the dead. I see Your sides, from which You shed blood and water: water that You might cleanse the earth of its corruption, blood that You might sanctify mankind. I see Your hands, with which in the beginning You created all creation, and planted the Garden, and made man, and with which You blessed the patriarchs, and with which You anointed the kings, and with which You sanctified the apostles. I see Your feet, which the sinful woman touched and received forgiveness for her sins,[351] and to which, before that, the widow had stooped and received back her son alive—with his soul—from the dead,[352] and over which the woman that had an issue of blood touched the border of the garment and was healed from her infirmity.[353] And I too, Lord, believe You are God."

(27) And Jesus said unto him: "Because thou has seen me thou hast believed. Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed in me."[354]

(28) Therefore, O my brethren, let us believe in Christ our God, let us worship Him that was crucified, let us glorify Him that was raised from the dead, let us believe in Him that made Himself manifest to the apostles, let us sing the praises of Him that showed His side to Thomas, let us praise Him that came to give us life, let us confess Him that brought us forth into the light, let us now magnify Him that bestowed upon us an abundance of all manner of blessings, and let us know Him, one in the Trinity, our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom be all glory with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.

348 See Luke 24:13–35.
349 John 20:27.
350 Cf. John 20:28.
351 See Luke 7:37–50.
352 See Luke 7:11–15.
353 See Luke 8:43–48.
354 John 20:29.

IVd: SERMON FOR THE THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

A Sermon of the holy monk Kirill,
for the third Sunday after Easter,
concerning the taking of Christ's body from the cross
and concerning the women bearing spices:
from the Gospel story;
and an encomium to Joseph

(1) A feast is come, finer still than the last, bestowing the grace of God upon His holy Church! Though chains of gold beset with pearls and precious stones delight the eye of their beholders, yet the spiritual splendor of the holy feasts is greater than these, as it delights the hearts and sanctifies the souls of the faithful! First the world saw the light as Christ rose from the dead, and there was Easter to sanctify the faithful. Then all creation was renewed as Thomas tested the ribs of the Lord:[355] for when he touched those wounds with his hands, the resurrection of the body became manifest to all. But now let us praise the noble figure of Joseph, and the women that bore spices.[356]

(2) The evangelist calls Joseph "a rich man, come from Arimathea, who was himself also Jesus's disciple,[357] and was waiting for the kingdom of God."[358] And at the time of the passion which our Savior took upon Himself, Joseph beheld the awesome wonders in creation, how the sun darkened and the earth quaked.[359] And he came to Jerusalem full of fear and wonder. And he found the body of Christ on the cross, naked, pierced, and hanging. And he found Mary, the mother of Christ, standing before the cross with one of His disciples. And Mary was weeping bitterly from the pain in her heart, and thus she spoke:

(3) "All creation shares my suffering, O my son, in beholding You unjustly put to death. Alas for me, O my child, O Light and Creator of creation! How shall I now lament for You? How shall I lament all that You endured from evil men in return for good: the

355 See John 20:24–29.
356 See Luke 23:50ff.; Matt. 27:57ff.; Mark 15:43ff.; and John 19:38ff.
357 Matt. 27:57.
358 Mark 15:43; Luke 23:50.
359 Luke 23:45; Matt. 27:51.

blows to Your head, the striking of Your cheeks, the beatings across Your shoulders, the fetters and the dungeon, and that Your holy face was spat upon! Alas for me, O my son! You were innocent, yet You were reviled, and on the cross You tasted death. And how You were crowned with thorns and given gall and vinegar to drink,[360] and how Your side, Your side so pure, was pierced with a spear.[361] The heavens were struck with horror, and the earth quakes, unable to endure the insolence of the Jews. The sun darkened and the rocks were rent,[362] showing that the Jews were become as rock. And I behold You, O my dear child, hanging naked on the cross, lifeless, shapeless, sightless, and unsightly, and bitter are the wounds in my soul.

(4) "O that I could have died with You, for I cannot endure to behold You thus lifeless. Henceforth no joy shall ever touch me, for my light and my hope and my life, my son and my God, has perished on this tree. Where now, O my child, are the glad tidings that Gabriel brought to me then, saying 'Hail, thou who art highly favored, the Lord is with thee'?[363] Gabriel called You King and the Son of the Highest[364] and the Savior of the world and the Creator of life and the Conquerer of sins.[365] But now, now I behold You hung between two robbers like an evildoer, a mere corpse pierced through the side, and I am faint with grief. I do not want to live, but to be with You in Hades.

(5) "Now I have been deprived of my hope, my joy and delight, my son and my God. Alas for me!

(6) "At Your wondrous birth, O my Lord, there was not such pain as this: for now my womb is rent as I behold Your body nailed to the tree. O the glory that was then Your birth, and the horror that is now Your death, O Jesus! From my unseeded womb You emerged, yet preserved intact the seals of my maidenhood. You indicated me as the mother of Your incarnation, yet You protected me in my virginity. I know that You suffer for Adam, yet I weep, and my soul is

360 See Matt. 27:29–34.
361 See John 19:34.
362 Matt. 27:51.
363 Luke 1:28.
364 Cf. Luke 1:32–33.
365 Cf. Matt. 1:21.

encompassed with grief, and I marvel at the depths of Your mystery.

(7) "Hear, O ye heavens and sea and earth! Pay heed to the weeping of my tears! For lo, at the hands of the high priests your Creator endures His suffering! He alone, the one righteous man, has been slaughtered for the sake of sinners and the unrighteous.

(8) "On this day, O Simeon, your prophecy has been visited upon me! For now the spear has passed through my own soul[366] as I behold You reviled by the soldiers.

(9) "Alas for me! On whom shall I call to share in my lamentation? With whom shall I shed my streams of tears? All have abandoned You, O Christ: replete with Your wonders, Your friends and Your kin have abandoned You. Where now is that throng of seventy disciples?[367] Where now are the twelve supreme apostles?[368] One of them betrayed You deceitfully to the Pharisees;[369] another denied You fearfully on oath to the chief priests.[370] I alone, Lord, I Your beloved handmaid, stand before You weeping, together with Your beloved helpmate and keeper of Your words.[371]

(10) "Alas for me, my Jesus! O beloved name! How can the very earth itself bear to feel You hanging on the cross? You who in the beginning established the land upon the waters, You who brought light to the eyes of so many of the blind, You who have raised the dead with Your word, with the mere beckoning of Your divinity! Come, see the mystery of God's providence: He that brought life to us all has been brought to His shameful death."

(11) When Joseph heard these words, he came near to the bitterly weeping mother. And when she saw him, she spun for him these imploring words:

(12) "Make haste, O most honorable Joseph! Make haste to Pilate the unjust judge, and ask of him that you make take down from the cross the body of your teacher, of my son and my God. Make haste to be in time, O you that partook in Christ's teaching, you secret apostle, you that are party to the kingdom of God! Go, ask for the

366 See Luke 2:34–35.
367 Cf. Luke 10:1.
368 Cf. Luke 6:13.
369 See Luke 22:48.
370 See Luke 22:54–62.
371 I.e., Mary Magdalene.

lifeless body nailed to the tree and pierced through the side! Share my woe, O you that believes, for the sake of the twofold crown that you shall receive after Christ's resurrection: due glory and honor from all ends of the earth, and in heaven the life everlasting."

(13) And Joseph took pity on her words of lamentation. He did not say, "The priests will rise against me and mock me, the Jews will rise in rebellion and will smite me, the Pharisees will plunder all my wealth, and I shall be excluded from the synagogue."[372] He said none of this. Rather he counted all this as nought, and he took no thought for his own life, that he might obtain the body of Christ. So he went in boldly unto Pilate and requested of him,[373] saying:

(14) "Governor, give me the body of Christ, that vagrant who was crucified between two robbers, and who was abused in envy by the high priests, and who was reviled unjustly by the soldiers.

(15) "Give me the body of the man Jesus, whom the scribes called the Son of God[374] and whom the Pharisees proclaimed as king and above whose head you ordered a board to be fixed with the inscription, 'This is the Son of God and the King of Israel.'[375]

(16) "Give me the body of Jesus, whom His own disciple deceitfully betrayed to the priests for silver, of which Zacharias prophesied and wrote, 'Give me my price, or refuse it; and he set at thirty pieces of silver the price of the one that was prized by the children of Israel.'[376]

(17) "I beg you for that body, of which Caiaphas foretold, 'This one man should die for the whole world.' Now this he said not of himself, but he was high priest that year.[377] And of this Jeremiah said, 'The shepherds have defiled my vineyard.'[378] And the Psalm said of them, 'The rulers of men gathered themselves together against the Lord and against His Christ.'[379] And Solomon also said, 'They plotted and were deceived, for their own wickedness hath blinded them. Let us lie in wait for the righteous, let us examine him with despitefulness

372 Cf. John 9:22.
373 See Matt. 27:58; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:52; John 19:38.
374 Cf. Luke 22:70.
375 See John 19:19–22; cf. Matt. 27:11, 29; Mark 15:2, 26; Luke 23:3, 38.
376 Cf. Zach. 11:12.
377 John 11:50–51.
378 Cf. Jer. 12:10.
379 Ps. 2:2.

and torture, and let us condemn him with a shameful death.'[380]

(18) "I beg for this body, the body of Jesus, who said in answer to your question: 'I am the life and the truth';[381] and: 'Thou wouldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above';[382] and for whose sake your wife entreated you, saying, 'Have thou nothing to do with that righteous man, for I have suffered many things in a dream because of Him.'[383]

(19) "Give me the body of this man that was crucified, whom the children greeted with branches as He entered Jerusalem, saying, 'Hosanna to the Son of David!';[384] and to whose voice Hades hearkened and released the soul of Lazarus that had lain dead for four days;[385] and about whom Moses wrote in the books of the Law: 'Thou shalt see thy life hanging before thine eyes.'[386] I want His dead body, to whom His mother gave birth as a virgin that knew not the bed of a man; and of whom Isaiah said to Achaz, 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Emmanuel, God is with us';[387] and concerning whom David foretold when he said: 'They pierced my hands and my feet. They counted all my bones.'[388]

(20) "Give me the man that died on the cross, concerning whom you said to the Jews when they asked you to deliver Him to His death, 'I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man,' and you washed your hands and scourged Him and delivered Him;[389] and of whom the Prophet says: 'I do not disobey, nor dispute. I gave my back to scourges and my cheeks to blows, and I turned not away my face from the shame of spitting.'[390]

(21) "I beg for the body of this Nazarene, to whom the devils cried out as they rushed forth from out of the possessed: 'What have

380 Wisd. of Sol. 2:21, 12, 19–20.
381 Cf. John 14:6.
382 John 19:11.
383 Matt. 27:19.
384 See Matt. 21:9.
385 See John 11:41–44.
386 Deut. 28:66.
387 Isa. 7:14.
388 Ps. 21:16–17.
389 See Matt. 27:24–26.
390 Isa. 50:5–6.

we to do with Thee, Jesus, Son of God? We know Thee, who Thou art, holy God: art Thou come hither to torment us before the time?'[391] And about whom God the Father Himself bore witness from the heavens when Jesus was being baptized in the Jordan, for God said: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased';[392] and about whom the Holy Spirit, through Isaiah, says: 'He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; by iniquitous people He was delivered unto death.'[393]

(22) "Give me the body to take down from the cross, for I wish to lay it in my own tomb.[394] For already all the prophecies concerning Him have been fulfilled. For this is He that bore our afflictions and suffered for us, and by His wound we were healed,[395] because His soul was delivered to death, and He was numbered among the transgressors;[396] and they said, 'Let us utterly destroy His memory from off the land of the living, and let His name not be remembered any more.'[397] Therefore God is pleased to take away from the travail of His soul, and to give Him the spoils of the mighty.[398] For concerning Him it is written: 'And Thou by the blood of Thy covenant hast sent forth Thy prisoners out of the pit that has no water.'"[399]

(23) And Pilate heard all this from Joseph and marveled, and called the centurion, and asked him whether the crucified Jesus was already dead. And on hearing the answer, he granted the corpse to Joseph that he might bury it as he wished. And Joseph bought a linen cloth and took down the body of Jesus from the cross.[400] And there came also Nicodemus, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight. And they wrapped the body of Christ, having anointed it with myrrh.[401]

(24) And Joseph cried out, saying: "O Christ, O Sun that never sets, Creator of all and Lord of creation! How shall I touch Your body

391 See Matt. 8:28–29.
392 Matt. 3:17.
393 Isa. 53:7–8.
394 Cf. Matt. 27:60.
395 Cf. Isa. 53:4–5.
396 Isa. 53:12.
397 Jer. 11:19.
398 Isa. 53:11–12.
399 Zach. 9:11.
400 See Mark 15:44–46.
401 See John 19:39–40.

most pure? For You may not be touched even by the heavenly hosts that serve You in awe! In what cloths can I wrap You—You that wrap the earth in darkness and cover the sky with clouds? Or what spices can I pour upon Your holy body: You, to whom earthly kings brought gifts and spices and worshiped You as God,[402] thereby prefiguring Your death for all the world? What songs of mourning can I sing at Your departure: to whom the seraphim sing with voices unceasing in the highest? How shall I bear You on my mortal arms: You, the invisible Lord, Bearer of all creation? And how shall I lay You in my humble tomb: You who established the heavenly orb with Your word, You who repose on the cherubim with the Father and with the Holy Spirit?

(25) "All this You do through Your providence, and all this You have endured through Your will; for You will descend to Hades, so that by the power of Your godhead You may lead Adam and Eve, who fell in transgression, up again into the Garden and with them raise again others that have died. Therefore, O merciful Christ, as instructed by the Holy Spirit, I shall entomb You with this prayer: Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us!"

(26) And they laid Him in the sepulcher, and they rolled a great stone against the door of the sepulcher. And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James beheld where they laid Him.[403] And when the sabbath was past and the sun was risen, all the women together came with myrrh.[404]

(27) This was already the fourth visit. First, as Matthew says, the two women came on the sabbath in the evening to see the sepulcher. And while they were there, there was an earthquake as the angel rolled back the stone from the door, and for fear of him the watchmen became as dead men.[405] And then Jesus Himself appeared to the two women and said to them: "All hail! Go to my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there they shall see me."[406]

(28) Second, others came at midnight to investigate what had come to pass, which they had heard from Mary Magdalene concerning

402 See Matt. 2:1–12.
403 See Mark 15:46–47.
404 See Mark 16:1–2.
405 See Matt. 28:1–4.
406 Matt. 28:9–10.

the resurrection of Christ. This is what Luke writes about them: "Very early the women came to the sepulcher and found the stone already rolled away, and two angels stood among them and said, 'Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen!' "[407]

(29) And after this, still before dawn, came the two other women, and they saw the two angels in the sepulcher where the body of Jesus had lain.[408] Thus John the Theologian writes: "Having heard from the two women, Peter and the other disciple ran to the sepulcher, and it was yet dark."[409]

(30) But Mark states, concerning all the spice bearers who came on the sabbath with spices: "And entering into the sepulcher they saw a young man sitting on the right side, and they were affrighted. And he saith unto them, 'Be not affrighted.[410] You have nothing to fear; but it is rather the wicked priests and the soldiers keeping watch, it is they who should fear. Behold, then, the empty sepulcher, and say to the apostles: "Christ is risen!" Behold, here is the cloth, but no body! Glory in Christ's resurrection in the flesh! Be ye bringers of the glad tidings of man's salvation! Say to the apostles: "This is the day of the salvation of the world!" Mourn Him no longer, lament Him no more as a corpse, but be joyous and delight in the living God! I shall proclaim to you the mystery of God's love for mankind, for He bore His suffering for the sake of Adam who fell into corruption.

(31) "'For the sake of Adam He descended from heaven and was made flesh and became man, that He might restore him that was corrupt and raise him to heaven. Adam had heeded the devil's advice and desired to be God and was damned. Christ heeded the Father and, being God, became man, that He might destroy the serpent and raise man to God. Adam stretched forth his hands to the forbidden tree and plucked the fruit of mortality and became a slave to sin and descended from Eden to Hades. But Christ stretched forth His hands on the cross and freed men from the damnation of sin and from death.

407 Cf. Luke 24:1–6.
408 See John 20:1, 11–12.
409 Cf. John 20:3, 1. Иоан Фелог: John (the Theologian) the Divine, the evangelist, conventionally identified with the author of Rev.
410 Mark 16:5–6.

(32) "'He was innocent, and He was sold that He might redeem those that were sold by sin from their servitude to the devil. From the sponge on the reed He tasted vinegar mingled with gall,[411] that He might expunge the book of man's sins. He was pierced with a spear in His side,[412] that He might set aside the fiery weapon that prevented man's entry into the Garden.[413] And from out of His side flowed blood and water,[414] with which He might purify all corruption of the body and sanctify the souls of men. He was bound and crowned with thorns,[415] that He might unbind men from the bonds of the devil and uproot the thorns of the devil's deceit. He darkened the sun and shook the earth,[416] and He caused all creation to lament, that He might smash the vaults of Hades; and the souls of them that abided therein saw the light, and the lament of Eve was turned to delight. He was laid in the tomb as a dead man, and He bestowed life upon the entombed dead of the ages.[417] He was secured with a stone and with seals,[418] that He might smite to their foundations the gates of Hades and the gateposts. He was guarded by watchmen for all to see,[419] but unseen He descended into Hades and bound Satan.

(33) "'For the angelic hosts went with Him and proclaimed: "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, that the king of glory may come in!"[420] And some of the angels untied the bound souls and let them loose from their dungeons, while others bound the hosts of the enemy, saying: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"[421] And the demons were numb with fear and cried out to them: "Who is this king of glory[422] that has come against us in such might? He has destroyed the prince of darkness and has plundered all his

411 See Matt. 27:48.
412 See John 19:34.
413 Cf. Gen. 3:25.
414 See John 19:34.
415 See Matt. 27:29; Mark 15:17.
416 See Matt. 27:51; Luke 23:45.
417 See Matt. 27:52–53.
418 See Matt. 27:64–66.
419 See Matt. 27:66.
420 Ps. 23:7.
421 1 Cor. 15:55.
422 Ps. 23:8.

treasure vaults[423] He has smashed the citadel of mortality, the belly of Hades; and He has captured its captives—the souls of the sinners—that abided here with Adam!" At His resurrection the seals on the tomb were intact, just as at His birth the seal of His mother's virginity was intact.

(34) "'Therefore you have nothing to fear, but those mortified soldiers—they should indeed fear! For now Christ has fulfilled all His works, and is risen in splendor. And He appeared to the two women that came before you, with His glorious greeting, "All hail!" And He told His apostles to depart into Galilee,[424] that there, with you all, He might bless all and ascend up into heaven[425] in the flesh in which He will come again to pass judgment on the world.'"

(35) Here we have related all that was said by the angel to the spice-bearing women concerning Christ.

(36) Let us now praise Joseph, eternal in memory, that noble figure, worthy of wonder. Blessed are you indeed, Joseph, most glorious and worthy of wonder! You that were deemed worthy of such great blessings and of such great wealth both on earth and in heaven! Worthily you served the body of God, as the cherubim. But the cherubim bear Him on their shoulders unseen, hiding their faces for fear; but you bore Christ our God in your arms with joy!

(37) Blessed are you, Joseph, blessed above the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! For they became honored and glorified above all, having heard no more than His voice; but you wrapped in cloth the very body of Christ our God!

(38) Joseph, I bless your arms, in which you bore the body of the Son of God, Creator of all. For Moses upon Mount Horeb was not able to see His face, but hid under a rock and was told: "Thou shalt see my back parts."[426] And so it was on Mount Tabor, when he and Elijah saw Christ, they bore witness that He was God and man.[427]

(39) Blessed are you above King David, great Joseph! David

[423] Cf. Isa. 45:3.
[424] See Matt. 28:9–10.
[425] Cf. Luke 24:51.
[426] See Exod. 33:18–23.
[427] See Matt. 17:1–13.

brought out of Selom the ark of the word of God,[428] yet he was afraid to set it in his own house;[429] yet you took from the cross not the tabernacle of the Law but God Himself, and with joy you laid Him in your own tomb. O blessed and thrice-blessed is that tomb that you dug, Joseph! The tomb in which Christ our Savior lay! No more is it a tomb, but a throne of God, an altar of heaven, a resting place of the Holy Spirit, a couch of the heavenly King. And around it, as Solomon said of his own bed, "there stood mighty warriors skilled in war, with two-edged swords."[430] In these words Solomon signified the ranks of the holy in their struggles for Christ against heretics and Jews.

(40) Blessed are you, Joseph! You who performed God's mystery and resolved the riddles of the prophets! For the books of the law and the prophets wrote about Him in parables, but you plainly anointed His sacred wounds with myrrh.

(41) Blessed are you, Joseph! For, in expectation of the resurrection on the third day, you covered Him in the tomb with the stone: you covered the one that Himself covered the firmament of the heavens with the waters; you covered as a corpse the one that made all alive with His word!

(42) Blessed also is your city of Arimathea, from which you came to serve the Son of God. O blessed Joseph, how can any praise of ours be worthy of you? O righteous Joseph, to whom can we compare you? How can I commence? How can I continue? Shall I compare you to the sky above? Nay, you shine brighter than the sky in your godliness. For at the time of Christ's passion the sky became dark and hid its light, yet then you bore God in your arms with joy. Or shall I compare you to the flower-decked earth? Nay, you proved yourself finer than the earth. For at that time the earth quaked in fear, yet you and Nicodemus joyfully wrapped the body of God in the linen cloth and laid it in the tomb. Or shall I name you as an apostle? Nay, you proved more faithful and more strong than they. For when they scattered in fear of the Jews, then you, unafraid and unwavering, served Christ. Or shall I call you an elder and a holy man? For indeed you have set them the example of your service when you went and spread the scents of the spices and prayed in worship of Christ's

428 See 1 Kings 4:3–4.
429 See 2 Kings 6:9–10.
430 Cf. Song of Sol. 3:7–8.

pure body, saying: "Arise, Lord, help us and deliver us for Thy name's sake!" Or shall I call you a blessed martyr, since you displayed such love for Christ? Though no dagger was plunged through your breast, though no sword spilled your blood, yet even so, by your resolve and by your faith you laid down your soul for Christ. For you would have been smitten and hacked into pieces, had not Jesus protected you from them as you protected the body of Jesus. You feared neither the fury of the Jews nor the reproaches of the priests, nor were you frightened by the wantonly murderous soldiers. You spared no thought for your great wealth, and you took no heed for your life. For you expected the resurrection on the third day.

(43) O Joseph, blessed in God! You have labored above all the saints, and you above all have won access to Christ! Pray to Him for us who praise you and commemorate you and the spice-bearing women with honor and adorn your feast! O saintly Joseph, grant succor to us all, be a mantle of protection for our city against all evil, and to the prince grant victory over his enemies, shielding him from all foes visible and invisible! Grant him deep peace and health in body, and pray also for the salvation of his soul. And deliver us from all need and sorrow and woe and from the dangers of evil, and in your prayers entreat God for forgiveness for our many sins, that He may spare us eternal torment and make us partakers in the life to come, by the grace and lovingkindness of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom glory with the Father and with the thrice-holy and blessed and life-giving Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages.

IVe: SERMON FOR THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

A Homily by the same sinful monk
concerning the sick man:
from Genesis and from the Gospel narration,
for the fourth Sunday after Easter.

(1) Immeasurable are the heavenly heights, unfathomable are the nether depths, and the mystery of God's providence is unknowable: for great and unspeakable is His mercy for mankind, the mercy that He has shown towards us! Therefore it is meet, brethren, that we should praise and laud and glorify our Lord God and Savior Jesus

Christ, declaring all the wonders which He wrought:[431] for neither angels nor men can declare them all.

(2) So let us now discourse upon the sick man,[432] whom on this day God Himself remembered and favored, whom the doctors had left neglected, and whom no one would help into the pool, for when the waters were troubled,[433] all the healthy took care of the rich but thrust this man aside; and whom Christ in His goodness and lovingkindness made whole on this day with His word. For Christ is the healer of our souls and of our bodies, and His word became deed.

(3) For the evangelist says: "Jesus went up to Jerusalem, in the midst of the feast of the Jews.[434] And when a multitude of people from all the cities gathered in Jerusalem according to their custom,[435] then it was that the Lord came, giving succor of all kinds to His servants, and berating the folly of the Jews who opposed Him. For verily He came to seek out the lost and to save the fallen.[436] For He performed many wonders throughout Palestine, but the Jews did not have faith in Him, but rather they reviled Him calling Him a liar and a deceiver.

(4) "And so He came among a great multitude to Solomon's well, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, which means 'the sheeps' pool,'[437] since that was where they used to wash the entrails of sacrificial sheep. And above the pool there was a temple with five porches, and in them lay a multitude of them that were sick and halt and blind and ill with other ailments. And they used to wait for the movement of the waters: for the angel of the Lord would come and stir up the water, and after it was stirred the first to enter it would be made whole."[438]

[431] Cf. Acts 15:12.
[432] See John 5:2–19.
[433] Cf. John 5:7.
[434] John 5:1; cf. John 7:14.
[435] Cf. Luke 2:41–42.
[436] Cf. Luke 19:10.
[437] Adding жидовьскым языком: see Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:331 n. 41; cf. John 5:2: "Sheeps' pool" is a variant in some Greek and Slavonic texts. See also Introduction, p. ci n. 242.
[438] Cf. John 5:2–4: this reading of verse 4 is not in the "standard" Greek Testament, but is in Greek variants and in Slavonic.

(5) This is a figure of holy baptism. For that water did not always heal, but only when the angel stirred it. And so, now, the Lord of the angels Himself, the Holy Spirit, comes to the font of baptism and sanctifies it and gives health to souls and bodies and cleanses away sins for any who may be blind in their understanding or halt in their unbelief or withered with despair in[439] the multitude of their iniquities or sick with heretical teaching. All are made healthy by the water of baptism. The pool of Bethesda would receive many, but would heal only one; and even that not always, but only once a year;[440] but the pool of baptism receives many and makes them healthy every day. For even if people should come to baptism from throughout the entire world, still the grace of God will not be diminished: the grace that gives healing to all who ail in sin.

(6) Let us speak, therefore, of the grace of the Lord, how He came to the Sheeps' Pool and saw the sick man that had lain a long time on his bed in his infirmity and asked him, saying, "Wouldst thou be made whole?" And the man answered, "O Lord, I would; but I have no man, when the water is troubled by the angel, to put me in the pool.[441] But sir, since You have inquired about my health, then hear briefly my reply, that I may confess to You the woes of my sickness. Thirty and eight years I lie nailed to this bed by my infirmity.[442] My sins have weakened all the organs of my body; but, beyond my suffering, my soul is buffeted by mockery.[443] I pray to God, but He hears me not, for my transgressions have gone over mine head.[444] I spent all my sustenance on physicians,[445] but I could obtain no help, for there is no herb that can avert the punishment of God. My acquaintances shun me; my stench has deprived me of all consolation, and my kinsmen are ashamed of me. So because of my suffering I have become an outcast from my brethren. And men curse by me, and I have found none

[439] See Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:332 n. 61.

[440] Cf. John 5:4.

[441] John 5:6–7.

[442] Cf. John 2:5.

[443] Cf. Ps. 37:7; perhaps from a reading ἐπλήχθη for ἐπλήσθη; cf. also Ps. 68:20. Vaillant, "Cyrille de Tourov et Grégoire de Nazianze," 35 n. 1, conjectures бриже страсти for преже страсти.

[444] Ps. 37:4.

[445] Cf. Luke 8:43 (of the "woman who had an issue of blood"); reading житие for имение: see Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:332 n. 90.

to console me.[446]

(7) "Should I say that I am dead? Yet my belly craves food and my tongue withers with thirst. Should I count myself alive? Yet I am unable not only to rise from my bed but even to move. I have feet that do not walk, hands that can do nothing, such that I cannot even feel myself with them. I am dead among the living, and alive among the dead. Like the living I eat, but like the dead I do nothing. I am tormented as in Hades by the contempt of them that revile me: for I am an amusement for youths, who mock me; and for old men I lie like a parable for their edification. All gloat over me.

(8) "So my suffering is twofold: constricted from within by my sickness, afflicted by the spite of my mockers, covered in the spit of them all. And I am beset by twofold grief: oppressed by hunger, more even than by my ailment. For even when I do obtain food, still I am unable to put it into my mouth with my hands. I implore others, that one of them might feed me, so my meager morsel has to be shared with them that help me to eat it. I wail and shed tears, wearied by the sickness of my ailment, yet none will come to visit me. Alone I suffer my miseries, for none will see me. And when scraps from off the tables of God-fearing folk are brought hither, then the overseers of the Sheeps' Pool instantly come running. The dogs licked the sores of Lazarus,[447] whereas these men devour such charity as is given to me! I possess no possessions, that I might give some recompense to any man that might care for me, for I have miserably squandered the wealth that was given to me in the Garden, and the purity of my raiment was stolen from me by the serpent in Eden, and here I lie stripped of God's protection.

(9) "I have found no man to serve me and not treat me with contempt. Enoch and Elijah were not found on earth, for they were taken up in a fiery chariot, and God knows where they abide.[448] Abraham and Job served such as me for a while, then passed away into eternal life. O Lord, I have found no man that stayed faithful to God: Moses the Lawgiver saw God, but then sinned against God and entered not into the promised land; Solomon the Wise spoke thrice with God, but then rebelled against God in his old age and was tempted by women

446 Cf. Ps. 68:8, 11, 20.

447 See Luke 16:21.

448 See 4 Kings 2:11; Heb. 11:5.

and perished.[449] Lord, I have no man to put me into the pool;[450] for all have turned away and have become good for nothing, and there is none that does good, no, not one, and not one of the workers of iniquity understands."[451]

(10) And, hearing all this from the lips of the sick man, our good Lord and Healer Jesus Christ answered him thus: "Why do you say 'I have no man'? I became man for your sake, in charity and mercy. I have not betrayed the promise of my incarnation. For you have heard the words of the Prophet: 'A child shall be born, the Son of the Highest; and He is given to us, and He shall bear our diseases and infirmities.'[452] For your sake I left the scepters of the kingdom on high and walk in ministration to the lowly. For I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.[453] For your sake I, who was without flesh, was clothed in flesh, that I might make whole all infirmities of soul and body. For your sake I, who was invisible to the angelic hosts, manifested myself to all men. For I shall not neglect my image—man—as it lies in corruption, but I shall save it and bring it unto the knowledge of the truth.[454]

(11) "And you say: 'I have no man'! I became man, that I might make man God. For I said: 'Ye shall be gods, and all of you children of the Most High.'[455] And who else is there that ministers unto you more faithfully than I? All creation I created to serve you; the heaven and the earth serve you: the one with its moisture, the other with its fruits. For your sake the sun serves with its light and with its warmth, and the moon and the stars lighten the night. For your sake the clouds nourish the earth with rain, and the earth brings forth all manner of grasses with their seeds and the trees with their fruits to serve you. For your sake the rivers bear fish and the wastes rear beasts. And you say: 'I have no man'!

(12) "What man is more faithful than I, who have not betrayed the promise of my incarnation, the promise which I vowed to Abra-

449 See 3 Kings 11.
450 John 5:7.
451 Ps. 13:3–4.
452 Cf. Isa. 53:3–4; Matt. 8:17; Luke 1:32.
453 Matt. 20:28.
454 Cf. 1 Tim. 2:4.
455 Ps. 81:6.

ham, saying, 'In thy seed shall the nations be blessed;[456] and thy seed shall be in Isaac,'[457] and in it I shall become flesh, and I shall set aside the circumcision, and I shall make the fertile water, which gives birth to many offspring in baptism, and about which Isaiah says, 'Water has burst forth in the desert';[458] O ye that are athirst, come to the water of life.[459] I am the lake of life; and behold, from my lips I pour forth upon you the river of the Garden.[460] Yet you thirst for the Sheeps' Pool, which will dry up in a little while! Arise, take up thy bed,[461] that Adam may hearken to me and now be restored from corruption with you! For in you I heal the curse of Eve's first transgression.[462] With my word I made Lazarus alive, who was already rotted in his tomb and had been four days among the dead;[463] and now I say to you, arise and take up thy bed, and go to your house!"

(13) And straightway the sick man leapt up from his bed, healthy in all the organs of his body and firm in his strength, and he took up the bed that had borne him and walked in the midst of the people.

(14) Now it was the sabbath on that day.[464] And when the Jews saw him, they did not rejoice in the health of the sick man, nor did they offer praises to God who had raised up the sick man from the bed of his infirmity, nor did they say, "How, brother, were your sinews thus strengthened? How were the organs of your body made firm?" But instead they ran off like beasts attacking an armed man, and their blasphemous words broke like arrows loosed against a stone. For they desired to speak falsehood more than the truth. And they began to reprimand the man for carrying his bed: "It is the sabbath day, and it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed.[465] Why have you risen from your sickness? Why are you cured of your infirmity? Why have you ceased to be ill? It is not meet for you now to carry your bed."

456 Gen. 22:18.
457 Gen. 21:12.
458 Isa. 35:6.
459 Cf. Rev. 22:17; John 7:37–38.
460 Cf., e.g., Ps. 35:9; Gen. 2:10.
461 John 5:8.
462 Cf. Gen. 3:15.
463 See John 11:39ff.
464 See John 5:9.
465 John 5:10.

(15) And the man who was cured of his infirmity said unto them: "Why do you say this, O you Pharisees? You are wise, yet you have been made foolish by hatred. Was it not enough for you to look at me lying half dead on my bed for thirty-eight years? But now that through God's word I have arisen, your minds have been blinded, and you stumble lame in your own falsehood. I rose up: that may not be good, but it is not evil. If you take no joy in this glorious wonder, then at least do not begrudge me the health granted to me! Be ye not as horse and mule, which have no understanding![466] The Lord helped me upon the bed of my pain and has turned all my infirmity to health.[467] Tell me then, O elders and judges of Israel, from which of your houses was the health which has been granted to me stolen, that you so plaintively reprimand me? No offence has been done to any of you, nor did He take from you what He gave to me. No, the man that made me whole said, 'Arise, take up thy bed and walk.' And see, I am healthy and whole."

(16) The scribes answered: "Who is the man that made thee whole?" But he that carried the bed knew not, for Jesus had conveyed Himself away from the multitude.[468] But the man said, "Not a sorcerer, nor a magician, not an ambassador, nor an angel, but the Lord God of Israel Himself;[469] for He touched me not with His hands, nor did He apply herbs to my afflicted organs. But His word became deed. For He said to me, 'Rise up and walk.' And after the word came the deed, and health to my body. Therefore judge not according to the appearance, nor slander the grace of God, but judge righteous judgment[470] and say unto God: 'How have Thy works been magnified in Israel!'[471] And honor the sabbath in wonder of the Lord, and praise God, and adorn the feast!"

(17) But the Jews would not become silent, and they said, "Who is this that has cured you on the sabbath? Show us who ordered you to carry your bed on the feast."

466 Ps. 31:9.
467 Cf. Ps. 40:3.
468 See John 5:12–13.
469 Isa. 63:9.
470 John 7:24.
471 Cf. Ps. 91:5.

(18) And Jesus found him again in the temple and said unto him, "Behold, thou art made whole. Sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee."[472]

(19) Let us not imagine that Christ spoke thus to this man alone. He spoke to all of us that have received the grace of baptism, by which we are purged of the pollution of our forefathers and cured of the corruption of our sin. So this is what the Lord might have said to the man that had been made whole: "Behold, in you I have made whole the sores of Adam, and I have raised up him that had fallen in transgression, and I have removed that ancient curse on all of Adam's kin, and through baptism I have washed away the pollution of all transgression, and I have sought out and found him that walked in the evil ways of idolatry. I have bound the wounds of him that was injured by demonic robbers;[473] I have poured forth upon his wounds the wine and oil of my blood, and, taking him upon the beast of my own body, I have brought him to the inn of the holy Church; and I have given two silver pieces to the innkeeper—the Old and the New Law to my priests, that they might be diligent in teaching the people; and I have promised reward on my return for those that save sinners. Behold, thou are made whole! Sin no more!"

(20) As it is said: "Woe unto him that sinneth in the knowledge thereof."[474] So let us all know and understand the meaning of what was said: that the Lord bids us not to sin after baptism, lest we again corrupt man after he has been renewed by God. Woe, therefore, to him that sins after taking holy orders: I refer to those that become monks or priests or even bishops, yet do not fear God. The sick man, however, was faithful. After he was made whole, he did not give himself up to bodily corruption, nor did he slander Jesus in front of the Jews, but he abided in the temple, where Jesus found him. And, recognizing Him that had made him whole, he said, "Righteous art Thou, o Lord,[475] and Thy word is the truth. Henceforth I commune with all those that fear Thee and keep Thy commandments." And he walked throughout the land, proclaiming, "It is Jesus that has made

472 John 5:14.

473 Here starts an extended reference to Luke 10:30–37.

474 Cf. Num. 15:30–31.

475 Ps. 118:137.

me whole."[476]

(21) So we also, brethren, let us also praise Jesus Christ our God, who has cured us from the ailments of sin, and let us bow down before Him in faith, saying: be not mindful of our former iniquities and cleanse us of our present transgressions; for Thou art the God of all in heaven and earth, Architect of man, Creator of angels, King of the universe, Master of the archangels, Maker of the cherubim,[477] and Adorner of the seraphim. Have mercy upon us, who trust in Thee, that, redeemed by Thee, we may praise Thee together with the Father and with the Most Holy Spirit now and ever and unto the ages.

IVf: SERMON FOR THE SIXTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

A Homily by the monk Kirill
concerning the blind man, and the envy of the Jews:
from the Gospel story,
for the sixth Sunday after Easter.

O Lord, give your blessing, father!

(1) I tell of God's mercy, and of the lovingkindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the grace of the Holy Spirit abundantly bestowed on humankind, O my brethren, O ye good and Christ-loving servants, offspring of the Church, sons of light,[478] and partakers in the heavenly kingdom. Yet I do not bring forth these words out of my own heart: for neither good deeds nor profitable words are born in the heart of a sinner. No: I take my story from the holy Gospel of John the Theologian, whom we now revere, and who was an eyewitness[479] to Christ's wonders.

(2) John says: "At that time, as Jesus passed by, He came upon a man blind from birth.[480] And the blind man did not entreat Him at first, nor did he follow Him to beg for sight; but it was in response to

476 John 5:15.
477 But cf. Ps. 98:1: "one who *sits* upon the cherubs"; perhaps here a confusion of съдѣ- and сѣдѣ-.
478 Cf., e.g., John 12:36.
479 Cf. Rev. 1:2. On Иоан Фелог, see above, p. 123 n. 409.
480 John 9:1.

the questioning of His disciples[481] that Jesus performed His wondrous miracle and thereby showed plainly, by His good works, that it was God that now came[482] to Jerusalem and found the blind man that was thus born."

(3) The apostle says, "as He passed by," signifying the passing of the Old Law with its sacrificial offerings of goats and with its traditions of the testaments of the elders. For the Old Law could not cure man's ailments: the law of Moses accomplished nothing, for the law places all under sin.[483] But the very Creator of creation, the Lawgiver Himself, came to renew His creation and to save mankind. As the prophet says of Him: "Not an ambassador, nor a messenger, but the Lord Himself saved us."[484]

(4) Therefore, in response to the question of the apostles, Jesus says of the blind man, "Neither did this man sin, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." And when He had thus spoken He spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle.[485] See how He indicates figuratively the original work of His godhead: for even thus, in the beginning of creation, He took the dust of the earth and created man. And even thus He now anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay and sent him to the pool of Siloam, that he might wash and have sight:[486] and not only to have sight, but also to cleanse the pollution of the ancestral sin, that in baptism he might be born a son of light.

(5) O the wisdom and the unspeakable lovingkindness of God! How can the soul not delight in His mercy, in which He brought to us His love, and in which He brought us close to Him, though we had been distant, brought every man to health, made the sick to stand, the lame to walk, made lepers clean and the crooked straight, the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak, gave strength to the withered of limb, cast out devils from men, and enlightened the blind!

(6) But behold, the Jews are angered at their benefactor, the Judeans grumble at the wonder-worker, the Israelites take counsel

481 See John 9:2.

482 See John 9:3. Trans. here reading var. иже: see Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:336 n. 20.

483 Cf. Gal. 3:21–22; Rom. 3:11–19.

484 Isa. 63:9.

485 John 9:3, 6.

486 See John 9:6–7.

against their savior, the sons of Jacob plot to destroy the one that came to save the whole world. Thus the Sadducees drag to judgment the man that saw, the Herodians gather an assembly.[487] For they do not believe that this is the man that was previously blind. And the scribes, in their folly, question the parents of the man who received sight. They say: "Is this your son?"[488] The Levites are amazed to behold the clear-seeing eye of the man that had been born eyeless. But the elders revile Him that opened the blind man's eyes on the sabbath.[489] The multitudes praise God, amazed at the glorious wonder, and all Jerusalem rejoices and magnifies Jesus Christ.

(7) Yet the Pharisees lead the multitudes astray, and revile the one that worked the wonder. And the priests cast out of the synagogue the one to whom God showed mercy. And the high priests bid the one that received sight to revile the one that gave him sight. And they say, "This man is not of God, because He keepeth not the sabbath." And in their malice they argue among themselves,[490] and they do not rejoice at God's glorious wonders, wonders which were not performed in another nation, nor worked by a foreigner, nor in a dream, but in the tribe of Abraham, among the sons of Israel, in the city of David, by a man of their own nation, a man whom all called the son of Joseph.[491] And to this man many could bear witness: the lepers that were cleansed, the possessed that were delivered from the evil spirits, the men that were raised from the dead, and the people of all Palestine, more than five thousand of them, that ate and were filled on the five loaves from Christ in the desert place.[492]

(8) All this the elders of the Jews knew well. But their envy did not let them recognize the grace of God, so that they might have said, "Great art Thou, o Lord, and wondrous are Thy works, for Thou hast visited us with mercy and hast wrought redemption for Thy people!"[493] So they cast out of the synagogue the man that had received

487 See Mark 3:6; John 9:13.
488 See John 9:13, 18–19.
489 See John 9:16.
490 See John 9:16.
491 Cf. John 6:42.
492 See Matt. 14:14–21; cf. Mark 6:34–44; Luke 9:12–17; John 6:5–13.
493 Cf. Ps. 85:10; Luke 1:68.

sight.[494] And they set division amongst themselves.[495]

(9) Some said: "What shall we do to this Jesus of Galilee? For He would reject the God-given law of Moses, and He has held to ridicule the traditions of the elders, and He has made the ignorant fishermen of Lake Tiberias, whom He now leads, more honored than the high priests and the Pharisees. He drives out of the temple them that sell sheep and doves,[496] yet He receives publicans and sinners and leads them to the altar and eats and drinks with them shamelessly.[497] He issues lordly threats against the high priests and the scribes, and He reprimands the Pharisees and the Levites as if He were their master, saying, 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!'[498] And He leads adulteresses away from the adulterers and calls them pure, saying, 'Woman, thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace.'[499] And He gives orders to destroy God's temple and boasts that He will raise it up in three days.[500] It is plain indeed that He scorns this wondrous temple, for He said to the adulteress at Sychar, 'The time will come when they shall neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem worship God in spirit.'[501] And furthermore, He urges us to render all our gold unto Caesar,[502] and He bids all of us walk in His footsteps, in poverty.[503] But Moses, among the Egyptians at the time of the exodus, bade our forefathers take the Egyptians' gold vessels by deceit, and to have them for themselves.[504] And as for calling Himself 'Son of God'[505] —is this not a mortal sin? For Scripture says, 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one!'"[506]

(10) But others said: "Nay, brethren, let us not slander God, and let us not take counsel harshly. If this man were not of God, He would

494 See John 9:34.
495 John 9:16.
496 See John 2:13–16.
497 See Luke 5:27–30.
498 Matt. 23:13 etc.
499 Luke 7:50.
500 See John 2:19.
501 See John 4:5–24.
502 See Matt. 22:17–22; Mark 12:14–17; Luke 20:22–25.
503 Cf. Matt. 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23.
504 See Exod. 3:22; 11:2.
505 See John 9:35–37.
506 Deut. 6:4.

not be able to perform these signs.[507] Surely this is indeed the man of whom Moses wrote, saying, 'God shall raise up to thee a prophet of thy brethren, like me; him ye shall hear.'[508] And Isaiah: 'Rejoice, O ye land of Judah, for in thee will appear the Redeemer; and then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear.'[509] And then Jeremiah: 'Behold our God did show Himself upon earth and conversed with men. And they that cleave to Him shall live, but such as leave Him shall die.'[510] So (they said) let us examine well, let us summon for a second time the man that was given sight, and let us also summon his parents to the temple and examine whether they recognize this man as their son that was blind when they bore him. If this man is not their son, then we shall expose this Galilean fraud, and both men shall be condemned to death."

(11) So they summoned again the one who had been blind, and they said: "Give glory to God! We know that this man is a sinner."[511]

(12) But he that had received sight was not afraid, and he said unto them: "O faithless generation,[512] full of lies and every iniquity![513] To what God do you urge me to give glory? In forcing me to revile the one that gave me my eyes, you trick me like a fool into partaking in your own sin. In making me reject the truth and tell a lie, you torment me worse than torturers. Since the world began it was never heard that anyone opened the eyes of a man born blind:[514] yet this is what the God of Abraham has just now done for me. What other God has shown greater wonders than this in Israel? Or would you rather have me offer glory to the calf's head to which your fathers bowed down in the wilderness? For this they were destroyed. As it is written: 'They forsook God that begot them,[515] and they forgot God that saved them.'[516] Or should I sacrifice to the two golden heifers of Bethel? You sacrificed to them with Jeroboam, and, in what happened

507 Cf. John 9:33.
508 Deut. 18:15.
509 Cf. Isa. 35:4–5; Mic. 5:2ff.
510 Cf. Bar. (!) 3:37–4:1.
511 John 9:24.
512 Matt. 17:17.
513 Cf. Matt. 23:28.
514 John 9:32.
515 Deut. 32:18.
516 Ps. 105:21.

to Jeroboam's hand, you were condemned by God.[517] As it is written: 'They provoked me to anger with strange gods, with their abominations they bitterly angered me.'[518] Would you lead me to the high hills where you slaughtered your children[519] as offerings to devils? As it is written: 'They sacrificed to devils, and not to God; to gods whom their fathers knew not.'[520] What more do you wish to hear from me? I told you, but you do not believe. Would you also be His disciples?"[521]

(13) But the Pharisees reviled him and said: "Thou art His disciple, but we are disciples of Moses."[522]

(14) And the man who had been blind answered them and said: "If you had been the disciples of Moses, you would not have beaten the prophets sent to you by God, as you bowed down before the gods of the nations, gods made by the hands of men. For Moses instructed thus: 'Ye shalt not bow down before other gods, neither shall ye serve the work of the hands of men.'[523] But did you not strike Jeremiah with stones as you made your offerings with incense to the Egyptian goat?[524] Because of such offerings the Lord waxed wrathful against you and said, 'I will gather evils upon them, and I will spend my arrows against them.'[525] And you lacerated Isaiah with a wood saw, when together with Manasseh you worshiped the soulless idols,[526] of which it is written, 'Let the gods which have not made heaven and earth perish[527] together with those that serve them.' And there is more: you struck Hosea in Samaria, when with Ahab you prayed to the non-existent god Baal.[528] And the Lord was very angry with His

517 A corrupt sentence: cf. 3 Kings 12:28–13:5.
518 Deut. 32:16.
519 Cf. Ezek. 23:39.
520 Deut. 32:17.
521 John 9:27.
522 John 9:28.
523 Cf., e.g., Exod. 20:3–5; Deut. 4:28; 6:14.
524 Cf. Lev. 16; also Lam. 3:53.
525 Deut. 32:23.
526 Cf. 4 Kings 21:2–17.
527 Jer. 10:11. On these themes, see also Heb. 11:37; also the apocryphal *Visions of Isaiah*.
528 Cf. 3 Kings 16:29–33; 17:4.

people, and He abhorred His inheritance,[529] and He scattered the ten scepters of Israel throughout the lands of the nations, and against the others He sent forth the teeth of wild beasts, with the rage of serpents creeping on the ground.[530] And thus you also shed the blood of the great Ezekiel, who warned you not to bow down to the idols of Babylon,[531] which Daniel smashed, to your shame. Yet I entreat you, do not speak lies against God, but consider the writings of the prophets, for truly this is the Christ that has come from God for the salvation of Israel. For if this man were not of God, He could do nothing."[532]

(15) And the priests and the Pharisees answered: "Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us?" And they cast him out of the synagogue.[533]

(16) So they cast him out of the assembly of the Jews, which is loathesome to God; but the holy Church of Christ was opened unto him. They flung him from the false-tongued teaching of the Pharisees, but from the apostles he received joy, and profit for his soul in the teachings of the Holy Spirit. And the envious priests did not sprinkle him with the ashes of the bullock and the blood of the goat to cleanse his flesh,[534] but the holy *ephiliel* of the angels was poured forth upon his head in baptism. He was not consoled by the elders of Israel, the revilers of God; but, rejoicing with him, the archbishops of the New Law glorify Christ. The fetters of the flesh were cast off, yet he was received in Christ by the brotherhood of the spirit, which was born of the Church of the nations through the water and the spirit. His friends and acquaintances[535] made themselves strangers to him, but the holy angels rejoice with him in friendship in the heavens. The priests forbade him to enter the temple of Solomon, but the Holy of Holies in the heavenly Jerusalem, the abode of patriarchs that have found favor with God, received him as a first-born child. The Jewish high priests, so abhorrent to God, did not confess him; but Jesus Christ Himself, the Son of God, found him again after he had been cast out, and not

529 Ps. 105:40.
530 Deut. 32:24.
531 Cf. Jer. 28:52–57.
532 John 9:33.
533 John 9:34.
534 Cf. Lev. 1:11; 4:12.
535 Reading знаемии: see Eremin, "Nasledie" 15:339 nn. 217–18.

only confirmed him but also consecrated him, saying, "Dost thou believe in the Son of God? It is He that speaketh with thee."[536]

(17) And the man prostrated himself on the ground and cried out: "I believe, Lord, and I swear to You! I believe in You, Son of God, and I sing Your praise! I believe, Master, and I proclaim You Christ and Savior of the world! I believe, O Most Merciful One, in Your descent to earth and in man's ascent to heaven through You! For You are the one of whom the prophets wrote, as in spirit they waited for You to become man. You are the one whom the prophets prefigured as the 'Lamb of God, that would take away the sins of all the world.'[537] You, Lord, You Yourself are the one of whom the Lawgiver taught, saying that when the Messiah would come, He would set aside the Law and grant grace. For unto You is given all dominion and might in heaven and on earth.[538] You are the one whom all the lifeless things of creation obey, as Your slaves, and all breath visible and invisible knows You as its Creator and Master.

(18) "Yet the people of Israel stoned You in their envy and averted their eyes from Your wonders. They saw the wondrous and glorious signs that You wrought, Christ; yet in their envy they did not recognize the power of God made manifest in You. From the first they were envious of Your birth, which the heavens announced with a star, and they spoke slanderously to Herod to have You murdered. And they were envious of the wonders You have wrought, and they said: 'He casteth out demons through Beelzebub the prince of the demons.'[539] And still they do not rest, but like dogs they bark at their Benefactor."

(19) But let us now leave this Jewish devilry aside, and let us rather praise that man upon whom God showed His mercy. For not only did he receive sight for the eyes of his body, but he also saw the light with the eyes of his soul. On earth he became a preacher of the Son of God, and in heaven he was made worthy of an apostle's crown. O staunch soldier of Christ, noble warrior against deceit, bold exposer of lies, indomitable bearer of suffering, staunch champion of the Son of God, shamer of the iniquitous Pharisees, preacher of truth, good

536 John 9:35, 37.

537 John 1:29; cf., e.g., Isa. 53:6–7.

538 Cf. Dan. 7:14, 27.

539 Luke 11:15.

anticipator of the New Law, first devotee of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom glory with the Father and with the Holy Spirit now and ever!

IVg: SERMON FOR ASCENSION

A Homily of the unworthy monk Kirill
on the Lord's ascension,
for the Thursday of the sixth week after Easter:
from the teachings of the prophets;
and on the raising of Adam, father of all, from Hades

(1) Come now in spirit, O blessed prophet Zacharias, and provide us with a beginning for our homily, from your prophecies of the ascension into heaven of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ! For you showed this to us quite plainly, and not through a parable, saying: "Behold our God shall come in glory from the battle of His host, and all His saints with Him, and His feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east."[540] We wish to learn more from you. And regarding the battle which took place against our common enemy the devil—of this we can learn from Isaiah, who himself witnessed the seraphim.[541] For our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, alone, waged war against all the demonic hosts and cast low the powers of darkness. As it is said: "I trampled them in my fury, and dashed them in my wrath, and I stained my garments with blood in my victory. I came down even unto the treasures of my captives, and I redeemed them all with the strength of my arm, and I said, 'Are these not my people and my children!'"[542]

(2) All this was said with reference to our Lord's passion, and to His descent into Hades. For He defeated the powers of darkness with the cross, and He brought forth Adam, father of all, with all the kindreds of the nations.[543] And the "people" are all the nations that had been brought down to Hades on account of their sins. And the "children" are those that had perished in the Law. Sin had gained

540 Cf. Zach. 14:3–5.
541 Cf. Isa. 6:1–2.
542 Cf. Isa. 63:2–9; cf. also 45:3.
543 Cf., e.g., Ps. 21:27.

dominion over them all, by the power of death, from Adam even until Christ; sin had brought them down and set them in the nether regions of Hades; and, shackled in iron and in poverty, they were humbled on account of their iniquities. But Christ smashed the gates of Hades, and redeemed them from their woes, and broke their fetters, and led them forth from the darkness and the shadow of death.

(3) And for these forty days He has been spreading the benefits of His joy. As He said: "Rejoice with me, for I have found the piece which I had lost."[544] That is, He has found the souls of all men, according to the kindreds of the nations, that He had led into the various places of their habitations: some with the robber, into paradise; others with Adam, to the sustenance of Eden;[545] still others with Abraham, to abide in the life eternal; and He settled the souls of all the nations in His light on the still waters.[546] For after all had fallen in flesh through the temptation of the serpent, in the selfsame flesh Christ suffered; and in the last day, when He shall come to judge the whole world, He will render unto each according to his deeds.[547]

(4) This was said to the apostles by the angels on the Mount of Olives. For they said: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing into heaven? He shall come again in the glory of His godhead, to judge the whole world, and He shall render unto each according to his deeds."[548] And He leads with Him into heaven, to His holy city, the holy prophets and the blessed holy men, whose entry thereto we shall relate from the divinely inspired books. For I myself do not create this narration, but rather I follow the words of the prophets and of the apostles, who bore witness to the living God, and who were bidden to write thus by the Holy Spirit: for the salvation of believers, and for the destruction of unbelievers.[549]

(5) And so, my brethren, let us also now travel in our minds to the Mount of Olives, and let us survey in our thoughts all the glories accomplished thereon. For Christ our God is Himself come to that mount on this day, and the ranks of all the saints are gathered thereon:

544 Luke 15:9.

545 On the derivation from the Greek τροφή (= food) rather than τρυφή (= delight), cf. above, p. 59 n. 20.

546 Cf. Ps. 22:2.

547 Cf. Matt. 16:27; Rev. 22:12.

548 Cf. Acts. 1:11; Matt. 16:27.

549 Cf. Rom. 1:16–18.

the congregations of the forefathers, the multitude of the patriarchs, the hosts of the prophets, the bands of the apostles, and the crowds of the faithful, together with Christ's seventy-strong disciples.[550] It was of them Paul said: "The Lord appeared to about five hundred."[551] Here he speaks of them that were on the Mount of Olives, and before whom Christ ascended. But regarding them that Christ led into heaven, to the heavenly Jerusalem, hear the words of Matthew: "And many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised, and after the resurrection they entered the holy city,"[552] that is, the heavenly Sion. And Paul was witness to this, when he was taken up into the third heaven.[553]

(6) But let us leave these things and discourse on the ascension of Christ and on the things that happened on the Mount of Olives. Behold there the hosts of the angels and the cohorts of the archangels: some with their wings of wind[554] bring thither the clouds to lift Christ our God from the earth; others prepare the throne of cherubim;[555] God the Father awaits the one that had before been with Him in His bosom; and the Holy Spirit bids all the angels, "Lift up the gates of heaven, that the King of Glory shall come in!"[556] The heavens rejoice as they adorn their luminaries, that they might be blessed by their Creator as He is borne bodily upwards on the clouds through the gates. The earth rejoices at the sight of God walking manifestly upon it. And all creation radiates beauty, as it is illumined from the Mount of Olives where the angels and the holy apostles are gathered at the behest of God the Father to await the coming of the Son.

(7) Therefore we esteem this feast more highly than the others, and the Mount of Olives is more holy than Mount Sinai. On Mount Sinai He descended unseen, while on this mountain He made Himself manifest. When He descended upon Mount Sinai all were afraid, since the whole mountain burned with fire, and lighting and thundering killed any that came close to the mountain, and God conversed

550 Cf. Luke 10:1ff.
551 1 Cor. 15:6.
552 Matt. 27:52–53.
553 Cf. 2 Cor. 12:2.
554 Cf. Ps. 17:10.
555 Cf., e.g., Ps. 79:1.
556 Cf. Ps. 23:7, 9.

with Moses alone;[557] but Christ ascended the Mount of Olives with the multitudes of His saints, sanctifying them all and consoling them all. So the Mount of Olives shines like the sun, with Christ and the ranks of His saints upon it. And instead of the former thundering and lightening, the voices of the prophets are heard in joyful exultation, saying, "Be Thou exalted, O God, in Thy strength: we will sing and praise Thy mighty acts!"[558] And all the angels say in exhortation, "Shout unto God, all the earth. O sing praises to His name!"[559] And the patriarchs begin their song, "Behold our God is exalted, who has joined the heavenly with the earthly and has reconciled the two into one!"[560] And the holy men lift their voices in exclamation: "Be Thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; and Thy glory above all the earth!"[561] And the righteous cry in acclamation: "Be Thou exalted, and judge the earth, that we also may walk, O Lord, in the light of Thy countenance!"[562] And David, the leader of the choirs, who elucidated the voices of song, says, "Clap your hands, all ye nations; shout to God in a voice of exultation, that the Lord may go up with shout, with a sound of a trumpet!"[563] And the last word is with Paul, who says, "Who shall ascend into heaven to bring Christ down? Or who shall descend into the abyss to bring Christ up? He that descended is the same also that ascended far above all the heavens."[564]

(8) And the Church of the nations is there, that had become betrothed to Christ.[565] And now, seeing Him lifted up to heaven, it laments in its heart and wails and cries out with Solomon: "I am wounded with Thy love,[566] heavenly Bridegroom! I did not toil in Thy footsteps, nor did I love the days of man!" And so it cries out as if parting from its beloved: "Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His

557 Cf. Exod. 19:12, 16ff.
558 Ps. 20:13.
559 Ps. 65:1–2.
560 Cf. Eph. 2:14–16.
561 Ps. 56:5.
562 Cf. Pss. 81:8; 88:15.
563 Ps. 46:1, 5.
564 Rom. 10:6–7; Eph. 4:10.
565 Cf., e.g., John 3:29; 2 Cor. 11:2; Rev. 21:2, 9.
566 Song of Sol. 2:5.

mouth!"[567] And, with it, the ranks of the apostles gazed at their Lord and Teacher, as the children of the Church, saying piteously: "Lord, do not leave us orphaned,[568] whom in Your mercy You condescended to love; but send us Your Holy Spirit, as You promised us." And Christ consoled them with His kindness and answered them thus: "Remain in Jerusalem! For I shall ascend to my Father and your God, and, as I promised, I shall send you another, the Paraclete, my Spirit and the Father's."[569] And He raised His hands and blessed them. And so saying, He was borne up into heaven. And they fell down and worshiped Him. And a bright cloud received Him out of their sight.[570] As it is said: "He mounted on cherubs and flew on the wings of winds."[571]

(9) And the Lord had with Him the souls of men, which He took up into heaven as a gift to His Father. And He set them to dwell in the heavenly city. This you can understand from Jeremiah, who says that the Lord raised up to heaven those souls which the devil had brought down to the nether depths and said: "Arise ye, and let us go up to Sion on high"[572] —that is, to the heavenly Jerusalem.

(10) And the hosts of the angels ran before Him in fear and joy, to open the gates of heaven. But the gatekeepers of heaven prevented them, saying, "These are the Lord's gates; no man from earth may pass hither. Such are God's instructions to us; there can be no circumvention. So we are indeed astonished to see, now, a man sitting upon a throne of cherubs, and in front of Him seraphim trying to open the gates." So the angels told of the power and rank of the Son of God clothed in the body of a man, so they would not be contradicting the will of God, who created all in wisdom: "For," they said, "He descended to earth unnoticed; and behold, now He ascends to heaven in the likeness of a slave." But the gatekeepers said: "We cannot obey unless we hear the word of God." So Christ cried out: "Open to me

567 Song of Sol. 1:2.
568 Cf. John 14:18.
569 Cf. Acts. 1:4–5.
570 Cf. Acts. 1:9.
571 Ps. 17:10.
572 Cf. Jer. 38:6.

the gates of righteousness. I will go into them[573] and tell my Father all that I did and endured upon earth."

(11) And when they recognized the voice of the Lord, all the heavenly hosts fell down and worshiped Him, saying "Lord, though we did not see You as You descended, yet behold, we worship You as You ascend in glory." And the Holy Spirit comes out to greet Him and leads Him in, the equal of the Spirit, the Son of God, and does Him honor, saying "Let all God's angels worship Him."[574] And to Him that came in the flesh God the Father Himself proclaimed, "Thou art my Son;[575] sit Thou at my right hand.[576] Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever![577] The heavens are Thine and the earth is Thine, and Thou hast founded the ends of it!"[578]

(12) And the Father sat the Son on His throne and crowned Him with His right hand, and the seraphim sang out: "Thou hast set upon His head a crown of precious stone,[579] Thou hast crowned Him with glory and honor,[580] Thou hast laid glory and majesty upon Him!"[581] And then He anoints Him with the anointing oil of the divine nature.[582] As David bears witness: "Therefore, God, Thy God has anointed Thee with the oil of gladness beyond Thy fellows."[583] And this feast is indeed full of gladness and joy. Gladness in the heavens, that Christ is ascended to His Father; and on earth joy for all creation that is renewed from its corruption.

(13) And therefore, my brethren, let us also rejoice in the Lord, that He has ascended in the east to the heaven of heavens. Let us worship Him that sits at the right hand of the Father. Let us pray to Him that has received all power in heaven and on earth. Let us bring our faith as a gift to Him that reigns with the Father. Let us not appear

573 Ps. 117:19.
574 Cf. Ps. 148:2.
575 Ps. 2:7; cf. Matt. 3:17; 17:5.
576 Ps. 109:1.
577 Ps. 44:6.
578 Ps. 88:11.
579 Ps. 20:3.
580 Ps. 8:5.
581 Cf. Ps. 20:5.
582 Cf., e.g., Lev. 21:12.
583 Ps. 44:7.

before Him empty-handed on the day of His feast.[584] And thus may we receive God's grace.

(14) For on this day Christ distributes His gifts to all: to the Father He gives the flesh that He brought in sacrifice; to the apostles He sends the Holy Spirit; the souls of the holy prophets He leads into the heavenly kingdom; to His servants He apportions abodes in the heavenly city; He opens paradise for the righteous; He crowns the martyrs that suffered for His sake; He bestows upon passion sufferers the boon of miracles; He grants the devout requests of holy men; He forgives sinners their sins; He has mercy on all who do His will and keep His commandments; to our pious princes He sends health of body, salvation of soul, and victory over their enemies; He confirms the Church, enriches the churchmen, honors the priests and the deacons that serve Him, sanctifies the monasteries, glorifies the abbots, fortifies the monks to endurance, and beatifies all Christians great and small, rich and poor, free and unfree, old and young, married and unmarried, mothers and infants, widows and orphans!

(15) And so, my brethren, come, let us also enter the holy church and magnify Christ our God; let us glorify Him that gave us life, and that promised us the kingdom of heaven hereafter; and let us together exalt His name, that to us also He may send the Holy Spirit. For we are His servants, and to Him we send forth praise and honor and adoration, together with the Father and with the good and life-giving Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen.

IVh: SERMON FOR THE SUNDAY BEFORE PENTECOST

A Homily by the sinful monk Kirill
concerning the Council of the 318 holy fathers:
indications from the holy Scriptures concerning Christ,
the Son of God;
and an encomium to the fathers at the holy Council of Nicaea:
for the Sunday before Pentecost

O Lord, give your blessing, father!

(1) Since the historians and the poets—that is, the writers of chronicles and the makers of songs—incline their ears to wars and

584 Cf. Deut. 16:16.

battles that take place between kings, that they may adorn with words and magnify those who fought manfully for their kings and those who turned not their backs upon the foe on the field of battle, and that in praising such men they may crown them with glory—how much more, then, does it behoove us to heap praises upon the great and brave generals of God who have striven manfully to follow their King, God's Son and our Lord Jesus Christ!

(2) For Him our holy fathers the archbishops and bishops, numbering 318, the same number as the servants of Abraham of old,[585] went into battle against the heretics. But whereas Abraham achieved physical victory with a visible army, these conquered in the spiritual fray and defeated invisible demons. Abraham destroyed five kings together with their hosts, and he rescued Lot, his nephew;[586] but these men slaughtered all the heretics with the swords of the spirit and rescued the Church of Christ from idolatry. When Abraham returned from the slaughter of the kings, he was blessed by God's priest Melchizedek, who brought him bread and wine;[587] but our holy fathers, after they had humbled and damned God's enemies the heretics, were blessed by God the Father Himself, who glorified them, and by the Holy Spirit that crowned them and sanctified them, and by the Son of God who, in place of the bread and the wine, offered them His own pure body and sacred blood—which was offered not only to them, but to all the faithful.

(3) Yet I entreat your indulgence, O my brethren: do not despise my coarseness. For here I write down nothing of my own invention. Rather I beg from God the gift of the word for the glorification of the Holy Trinity. For it is said: "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."[588] Therefore incline the ears of your mind, for I commence my homily on Christ, whom Arius[589] sought to cleave from God the Father.

585 Cf. Gen. 14:14.
586 See Gen. 14:8, 16.
587 See Gen 14:18–19.
588 Ps. 80:10.
589 Arius (ca. 250–336) taught that the Son of God was not God by nature, but was created by God, and that he was therefore not eternal. Arius's doctrine was condemned as heretical at the First Ecumenical Council, held at Nicaea in 325. The council declared the Son to be coeternal and consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father.

(4) This Arius was a priest of the Alexandrian Church; or one might rather say that he was Satan's vessel and a wolf in sheep's clothing![590] He was entrusted with the task of instructing people in the faith of Christ; yet he was not one of the laborers in Christ's vineyard, and he began to sow seeds of evil, from which grew thorns and thistles.[591] He was a slanderer, not a bringer of the Good News. And he used to say: "Christ is not truly the Son of God. All creatures are children of God; so that He is called God's 'son' inasmuch as He is God's creation." And when Archbishop Peter learned of this, he cast Arius out of the Church. But Arius gathered his own congregation and preached his heresy to the peoples. For God permitted the Church to be visited by the temptation of the devil.

(5) And so it continued for a long time. This soul-destroying heresy spread, and this evil teaching reached Antioch, and it reached Byzantium, and many abandoned the faith of Christ and joined the heresy of Arius.

(6) But the divinely appointed orthodox emperor Constantine[592] saw how the Church had been thrown into confusion by Arius, and he was sorely grieved. And he ordered the bishops from all over the world to be gathered, and that they should all come to Nicaea. For the blessed Constantine recalled the words of the Prophet, saying: "Assemble ye His saints to Him,[593] that God may be glorified in the council of His saints!"[594]

(7) And soon the holy fathers gathered together. They made the journey tirelessly over land and over sea, like ships full of spiritual wealth, or like eagles winged with the teachings of the apostles: they were light of body through fasting, and they were humble in spirit through reliance on the Gospel of Christ.

(8) And Arius was led in, together with those that were of one mind with him. And all entered the building that had been built for the purpose. And the emperor sat upon his throne, and the elders of Christ's holy men were seated on thrones to his right, and Arius and his henchmen entered and stood opposite. And Arius had armed

590 Cf. Matt. 7:15.
591 Cf. Matt. 7:15–16.
592 Constantine the Great: see above, p. 23 n. 154.
593 Ps. 49:5.
594 Ps. 88:7.

himself mightily against the Holy Trinity, and he began to cast his blasphemous words like arrows, roaring in his evil designs like a savage lion[595] whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness and fraud.[596] For he preferred darkness to light. Nor did he wish for blessing, but instead desired to be cursed. And so it was with him: he abandoned heaven and Christ, who had called out to him; and he turned to the depths of Hades with the serpent that tempted him—the serpent through which the devil himself had then spoken unseemly things. For Arius was a great general for Satan. Yet his king was already bound, and therefore his army did not fight steadfastly. Arius had on his side clever philosophers and bookmen blaspheming Christ.

(9) First the emperor ordered Arius to expound his own teachings, with which he was leading the world astray and bringing it to perdition with him. And the accursed Arius began to expound his dogmas thus: "You are deceived about Christ, for He was not with God from the beginning, nor is He consubstantial with God the Father, nor is He equal in substance to the Holy Spirit, nor is He God's word in being, nor was all visible creation made by Him, nor is the Father visible to the Son, nor was God made flesh in human nature; but all creation in heaven and earth is simply called 'God's son.'"

(10) When he had uttered this and much more besides—which it would not be fitting either for me to write or for you to hear—our holy fathers spoke to him and said: "Hear, Arius, you headless beast, you unclean soul, you accursed man, a new Cain, a second Judas, a demon in the flesh, serpent of temptation, well-known robber of the Church, inveterate plunderer, impenitent sinner, untamable wolf to the lambs of Christ, unabashed destroyer of the holy faith, besmircher of them that desire salvation, enemy of God and son of perdition! These things that you proclaim are from your own mind, not from holy Scripture. You speak that which your own heart has devised, not that which God ordered the prophets and the apostles to write down concerning His Son. But you should know and learn of Christ, that He is the Son of God, one of the Trinity, and that in the last years He became flesh for our salvation. God the Father Himself first tells us of His Son, that He is coeternal with Him, saying, 'I have begotten Thee

595 Cf. Ezek. 22:25ff.

596 Ps. 9 (2):7; cf. Rom. 3:14.

from the womb before the morning.'[597] See how He begat Him! He does not conceal from His servants the birth of His Son, consubstantial with Himself. Twice He bore witness to Him, on the Jordan and on Mount Tabor, saying: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'[598] But He did not say of creation, 'I begat it.' Instead Moses writes of creation: 'And in five days God made all visible creation, all that is on earth and all that is in heaven.'[599] And as to the Word of God becoming man, the angels bore witness when they said to the shepherds: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men! For, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Son of God.'[600]

(11) "You should not maliciously misinterpret these words, but understand well that the Son of God became flesh. The evangelist wrote of this, saying: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God. And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.'[601] So also Paul, God's messenger and teacher to the nations, speaks of Christ: 'Great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory.'[602] And all this is the truth; for all of it is said at God's behest. But as for your heresy, the Holy Spirit foretold it, through the same apostle, when he summoned the priests of Ephesus to Miletus. 'Know,' he said, 'that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock of Christ, to draw away disciples after them.'[603] And he also speaks of you to Timothy, saying that, 'In the latter times some shall depart from the faith of Christ through the doctrines of devils and inimical spirits and through hypocrites and

[597] Ps. 109:3.
[598] Matt. 3:17; 17:5.
[599] Cf. Gen. 1:1–2:1.
[600] Luke 2:14, 10–11 (except the phrase "Son of God"!). Cf. Introduction, pp. c–ci.
[601] John 1:1, 14.
[602] 1 Tim. 3:16.
[603] Acts 20:29–30.

liars,[604] whose end is perdition.'[605]

(12) "Therefore you should submit to such witnesses, who declared that the Son of God became man. But if you turn your ear from the apostles, then at least hearken to the prophets, who earlier spoke of Christ, saying that He was with God the Father from the beginning, and that all came to pass through Him, and that in the latter years He would come down to earth and dwell among men. The prophets can outargue you on this, as, through the Holy Spirit, they proclaim, louder than a trumpet, that Christ is the Son of God, God and man and ever God, the shining of the glory and the figure of God indivisible. The holy men perceived His becoming man, and all of them in a loud voice cried out to us of the glad tidings brought by the angel sent to the virgin, and of the conception from the Holy Spirit, and of the sign of the star which led the Persian magi to the nativity of God, and of the childhood of the Ancient of Days, and of His baptism that cleansed sins, and of the rejection of the Old Law, and of His most glorious wonders, and of His betrayal by His disciple, and of His death for the whole world, and of the descent into Hades, and of His resurrection from the dead, and of the Holy Spirit that He bestows upon the apostles, and of His ascension into heaven, and of His sitting at the right hand of God, and of His second coming, when He shall come to judge the world and shall render unto each according to his deeds."[606]

(13) And concerning all these things they cajoled and shamed the heretics, and cursed the blaspheming Arius, and cast him out of the Church, and glorified Jesus Christ the true Son of God, and confirmed the Church with the testaments of the apostles. And they instructed all to believe in the Holy Trinity, consubstantial and indivisible, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And they bade all worship one God in the Trinity.

(14) This was the First Council, in the reign of the holy emperor Constantine, in the twentieth year of his reign. And he banished Arius, who blasphemed against Christ the Son of God. As it is written: "His trouble shall return on his own head, and his unrighteous-

604 Cf. 1 Tim. 4:1–2.

605 Phil. 3:19.

606 Matt. 16:27; Rom. 2:5–6.

ness shall come down on his own crown."[607] For, saith the Lord, "He shall never have forgiveness, neither in this age nor in the age to come":[608] for here he is cursed, and there he grieves still more bitterly in torment.

(15) And they sanctified the Council of the 318 holy fathers, and ordered that it be commemorated.

(16) The elders of the council were holy men, workers of wonders: Pope Silvester of Rome, who baptized the emperor Constantine and thereby cleansed him of leprosy and worked many other wonders besides; Metrophanes, patriarch of Constantinople, who with a word opened the eyes of a blind man and with a prayer made a dumb man to speak; Alexander, archbishop of Alexandria, blessed with the gift of prophecy; the patriarchs and confessors[609] Eustathius of Antioch and Macarius of Jerusalem; the noble metropolitans and wonder-workers Vitus and Vicentius and Nicholas and Paphnutius, and many holy bishops besides. And among them was the blessed Spiridon, through whom God worked wonders at the council itself. For when Spiridon began to speak to the philosophers that were arguing on the side of Arius, they saw fire coming out of his mouth, and thenceforth they repudiated Arius and believed in the Holy Trinity and by the grace of God they became Christians.

(17) No honor and praise is too much for these great and holy men of Christ, who strove for Christ's sake as valiantly as the apostles and were thus made worthy of the apostles' throne and crown!

(18) O you fathers blessed by God, leaders of the Orthodox faith, faithful and holy and unslumbering guardians of the Church, for which you stood in battle against the enemies of the Church even unto the shedding of blood! You did not fear the mortal threats of kings, nor did you flinch when your persecutors threatened death to you all, nor did you slacken for the sake of worldly reputation, nor did you distort the word of God, nor did you betray truth for falsehood; but as you had been taught by the apostles, so you lived; and as you started, so you finished! Good shepherds of Christ's flock, for which you laid

607 Ps. 7:16.

608 Cf. Mark 3:29.

609 знаменоносца: literally "sign-bearers," from σημειοφόροι, usually meaning "wonder workers." For σημειοφόροι as "confessors of faith," used of the fathers of the Council of Nicaea, see Lampe, 1231.

down your souls! You did not let the wolf come near to the lambs, but you preserved the flock intact and abundant on the pastures of God's law, until such time as you might bring it safe to the enclosures of the heavenly Jerusalem with the rod of your teachings.

(19) O blessed holy men! Good laborers in God's vineyard, from which you uprooted the thorns of deception and planted in all men the true understanding of God, and with the plow of the words of the Gospel tilled the land that was overgrown with the sins of our hearts. You are the rivers of the garden of understanding that water the world with the teaching of salvation and wash away the corruption of sin with the streams of your teachings!

(20) O earthly angels that stand evermore at the throne of God! Beg peace for the world, and health in body and soul for our pious princes, and pray to Christ assiduously for all Christians!

(21) O you hierarchs blessed by God! High-soaring eagles that assemble not by a corpse but by Christ's living body; and, tasting of this body, you live in the heavens unto infinite ages! You labored on earth for a while, and for all ages you repose in the heavenly kingdom!

(22) O you organs of the Holy Spirit, that delight all the faithful with the music of salvation and succor for the soul!

(23) O you God-bearing clouds, that rain forth wonder-working droplets upon the hearts of the faithful, bringing forth an abundant fruit of repentance! You are unconquerable cities that save all who run to you for refuge! You are unshakeable pillars against whom all blasphemous heretics are smashed to perdition!

(24) O our teachers blessed by God! Beacons for the world, instructors for those that have strayed, guides for those that were blind in the eyes of their souls, guarantors of salvation for those that repent, doctors who cure the soul and the body and seek no recompense, divinely taught healers, liberators for the oppressed, ready protectors for the distressed, extricators from bonds, exterminators of idols, and excoriators of all lies!

(25) O blessed and venerable holy men! Pure vessels that bear God's word within you! Fine dwellings wherein the Holy Spirit reposes! Unfading flowers of the Garden of Paradise! Fine shoots from the heavenly vineyard! Fine-fruited trees that delight the souls and the hearts of the faithful! Most wise of fishermen, who have gathered in the whole world with divine understanding and have filled the net of the Church and have brought it to Christ! You have received

worthy reward for your labors!

(26) On earth you honored Christ as the Son of God, and He has honored you in heaven. As it is said: "I will honor them that honor me."[610] For Jesus Christ Himself picked you, like ripe figs in the vales of the world, and planted you in the temples of His house, to adorn the throne of the apostles, to confirm the holy faith, to renew those that were withered in sin, to restore those that were fallen in heresy, to guide those that had strayed in temptation, to revive those that were ailing in the Law, to strengthen those that strive for Christ's sake, to sever the snares of the devil, to deliver those that were entangled in evil, to mollify the militant, to rescue those that were sinking in the lusts of the flesh, to save those that were floundering in folly; you are food for the hungry and clothing for the naked. And there is much more besides: our holy fathers have many more of such godly virtues and goodly deeds, which are witnessed and rewarded by God Himself.

(27) But we are coarse in our understanding and poor in word, as we write this paltry praise for your festival. So, we entreat and implore you, O most holy patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, venerable archpriests, purest of presbyters, and all our righteous and blessed teachers: receive our meager words, as God received the two mites from the poor widow![611] Intercede for the remission of sins for our souls, that, having lived out the rest of the years of our lives in purity, we may render up our souls into God's hands, and that He may open the gates of heaven to us and deem us worthy of the blessings therein, through the mercy and lovingkindness of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom honor and glory and power and worship!

[610] 1 Kings 2:30.

[611] See Mark 12:41–44; Luke 21:1–4.

APPENDIX I

TEXTUAL PROBLEMS IN THE *EPISTLE* OF KLIM SMOLJATIČ

1. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

There is no critical edition of the *Epistle*. Texts from two complete manuscripts have been published:

(a) GPB, Kirillo-Belozerskoe sobr. 134/1211 (15th century). This manuscript is described by Nikol′skij in the introduction to his edition.[1] Its version of the *Epistle* (fols. 214–33) is that which is published by Nikol′skij (pp. 103–36). In the present work, references to this text are abbreviated as *Nik.*

(b) GPB, sobr. OLDP F. XCI (late 15th–early 16th century). The *Epistle* appears on fols. 186v–195. This is the text in the edition published by Loparev.[2] In the present work, references to this text are abbreviated as *L.*

A comparison of the readings of the two manuscripts is given by Nikol′skij.[3]

Loparev also publishes a brief extract from the start of the *Epistle* from another manuscript, GPB, sobr. OLDP F. CXCI (late 15th century).[4]

Texts equivalent to parts of the exegetic sections of the *Epistle* appear elsewhere: e.g., in *Izb.*, *Vop.*, and *Kaz.*[5] These can serve as additional sources for variant readings.

2. TRANSPOSITIONS

The texts in *Nik.* and *L* are corrupt. They both derive from a version in which several passages had been transposed, leaving gaps and

1 N. K. Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 63–84.

2 X. M. Loparev, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta k smolenskomu presviteru Fome. Neizdannyj pamjatnik literatury XII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 13–30.

3 Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 227–29.

4 Loparev, *Poslanie*, 13.

5 See Introduction, pp. lxix–lxx, cii.

non sequiturs which can be remedied if segments of the text are redistributed in a different order. Sometimes the signs of transposition are obvious. For example, after the natural ending after a prayer and *amen* (*Nik.*, 729; §74) we find a cluster of disparate fragments (*Nik.*, 730–62; §§75–84) which appear to have dropped out from various places in the main text. However, although certain corrective redistribution is uncontentious, the precise order and structure of a restored text is hypothetical, and a number of versions have been proposed.

Nikol′skij prints in full the corrupt text of the Kirillo-Belozersk manuscript, but in an extended footnote he suggests the original order was: *Nik.*, 1–99, 203–409, 100–86, 730–52, 409–48, 474–550, 186–203, 703–29 (= §§1–10, 21–36, 11–19, 75–82, 37–42, 45–53, 20, 72–74), Nikol′skij is dubious about the status of *Nik.*, 449–74, 550–703, 752–762 (= §§43–44, 54–71, 83–84).[6]

Lavrovskij attempted to reconstruct the "correct" order, for his translation of the *Epistle* into Russian.[7] In the main he followed Nikol′skij, but with significant differences in detail. The order of the text in his translation corresponds to *Nik.*, 1–99, 203–409, 100–86, 730–52 (all as Nikol′skij); but then 409–637, 645–703, 756–62, 753–56, 186–203, 704–29 (= §§1–10, 21–36, 11–19, 75–82, 37–[half of]62, 63–71, 84, 83, 20, 72–74).

For the translation into English I have followed Nikol′skij's practice rather than his hypothesis, preserving the order of the real extant texts. Difficulties of sequence are indicated in the footnotes. The division of the text into paragraphs may help readers—armed with the mental equivalent of scissors and paste—to redistribute the parts according to their own judgment.

In order to arrive at such judgments it will be necessary to consider not just the grammar and the logic, and not just the sequences in the equivalent passages of, for example, *Izb.* There is a further problem. Redistribution of the parts may help us to establish the *Urtext* behind *Nik.* and *L*, but this will not necessarily be the *Urtext* of the work as it was put together by Klim Smoljatič. Between Klim and the *Urtext* of the surviving manuscripts lies—possibly—the work of a mysterious monk named Afanasij.

6 Nikol′skij, *O literaturnyx trudax*, 225–26.

7 P. A. Lavrovskij, *Poslanie mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča Fome, presviteru smolenskomu, kak istoriko-literaturnyj pamjatnik XII veka* (Smolensk, 1894), 84–107.

3. INTERPOLATION? THE QUESTION OF THE MONK AFANASIJ

In the heading of the surviving work we read that it was an epistle written (*napisano*) by Klim and interpreted (or with interpretations: *istolkovano*) by the monk Afanasij. Who was Afanasij? When did he live? What was the extent of his contribution? How much of the exegesis may in fact have been inserted into the *Epistle* by Afanasij rather than by Klim himself?

Not surprisingly, scholars offer a range of solutions. Nikol′skij suggests tentatively that quite substantial portions of the text may be interpolations. Among the *dubia* he includes most of the mythological riddles: *Nik.*, 449–74, 550–703, 752–62 (= §§43–44, 54–71, 83–84). Lavrovskij is more optimistic. He argues that almost the entire text is in fact attributable to Klim. In his translation he brackets, as perhaps spurious, only one short passage (part of §62). At the opposite extreme, V. V. Kolesov, the most recent translator (into Russian) of the *Epistle*, states categorically, without argument, that the riddles were not part of Klim's composition but were added later by Afanasij. Accordingly Kolesov omits them from his own version.[8]

The reason for making *some* cuts in the received text is that the heading seems to indicate that it is necessary to do so: if there are interpolations by Afanasij, then they must be removed if we are to get back to the work of Klim. However, the reasons for selecting *which* passages are to be cut depends on each editor's own judgment as to the nature and logic of the original work. There are no external criteria. Nikol′skij selects his *dubia* on the grounds that they form a separable group of interpretations which are not linked directly either to the main theme of Biblical exegesis or to the main polemical issue of "vaingloriousness." Lavrovskij removes a much smaller segment on the grounds that it seems to be a secondary gloss. Kolesov gives no explanation for his decision, apart from implying (incorrectly) that he is following Nikol′skij.

I am inclined to accept the view that virtually all of the extant text was included in the original *Epistle*. The main reasons are:

(a) One cannot reject passages just because one does not think they fit neatly. *Somebody* in the Middle Ages thought them appropriate. If that somebody could have been Afanasij, he could equally well

8 See *PLDR. XII v.*, 658–59.

have been Klim.

(b) The putatively spurious passages come from the same single source (shared with *Izb.*) as the putatively authentic passages. It is highly improbable that a later interpolator would have reexcavated all his additional material from precisely the same mine.

(c) Klim's own remarks to Foma are distributed throughout the work. They are not confined to the sections with Biblical exegesis.

(d) The mythological riddles are necessary to Klim's argument. They are specimens of the material which Foma had apparently found objectionable, the material which had been contained in Klim's missive to the prince. Klim states this explicitly.

This still leaves the problem of the heading, with its reference to Afanasij. Our main conclusion is that the problem is not as serious as it might appear, because the later interpolations—if there were any—are minor. We can only guess at Afanasij's exact role. Such speculations might include, for example:

(a) Afanasij was a later editor who added one or two brief glosses. His contribution does not significantly affect the shape, extent, or content of Klim's work.

(b) Afanasij may have been a near-contemporary of Klim. If this was the case, then his contribution (however small or large) is part of the same twelfth-century culture as the original *Epistle*.

(c) Afanasij may have been an associate of Klim, a kind of research assistant, the man who provided his exegesis for him. If this was the case, then the *entire* text was produced according to Klim's design.

(d) Afanasij may be a mistake, a late scribe's confusion wrongly rationalized: perhaps a distortion of a guess about sources ("with interpretations *from* Afanasij..."); or a fragment of scribal marginalia erroneously transferred.

There are many possibilities. None of them have any status. We may or may not have a preference, but the choice is unimportant. For most practical purposes Afanasij can be ignored, and the *Epistle* can be treated as a work put together substantially or entirely by Klim Smoljatič.

APPENDIX II

BIBLICAL AND APOCRYPHAL GENEALOGIES IN THE *EPISTLE* OF KLIM SMOLJATIČ

A substantial part of the borrowed exegesis in Klim's *Epistle* is composed of arguments which were originally designed to dispel doubts about the purity of the incarnate Christ. Klim (through the source which he copies verbatim) produces refutations of the following principal charges:

(a) The human body is corrupt, therefore Christ cannot have been both pure and fully human.

(b) If Christ is supposed to have been descended from the tribe of David, then he is additionally tainted by a corrupt lineage, since David's ancestors and descendants were far from pure.

(c) Christ's lineage is in any case obscure, since the evangelists give contradictory accounts of it.

The first charge is answered with a categorical statement: Christ is God and therefore without sin, and his body cannot have been corrupt (§12).

The second and third charges both arise from a hostile reading of the genealogies of Christ given by Matthew and Luke. Matthew (1:1–16) summarizes Christ's descent from David in the male line, but his list somewhat incongruously includes the names of four women: Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah. All four women have tainted reputations. The portion of commentary borrowed by Klim attempts to "rehabilitate" Tamar and Ruth. Ideally, and in origin, it is part of a larger argument rehabilitating all four.

Luke (3:23–38) mentions no women, but he gives further grounds for criticism: his list of Christ's immediate forebears is different from that given by Matthew. How, or in what sense, are the Gospels to be trusted?

The responses to these charges are intricate and linked to one another. They involve the use of symbolism and allegory, the use of source analysis, and the application of what might be called a historical approach to ethics.

Klim insists that narratives from the Old Testament must be investigated "in detail." They are literally true, but the meaning of

that truth may not be apparent from a literal reading. In particular, a superficial reading leads one to misunderstand the moral connotations of certain actions by Christ's ancestors: the bigamy of Jacob and his intercourse with his wives' maidservants; Tamar's apparently deceitful intercourse with her father-in-law Judah.

Klim('s source) argues that moral standards legitimately change over time. Ethical imperatives are immutable only when fully revealed through Grace. Previous behavior, even when corrupt by Christian standards, might nevertheless be free of corruption through being sanctioned by God in its own temporal context. This is not an assertion of simple ethical relativism, but rather an acceptance of ethical historicism: seemingly corrupt behavior in the past can be compatible with the operations of divine Providence in history.

Three epochs in providential (and hence ethical) history are discerned: the period of the Convenant (§16; cf. §32 on "piety" even before Abraham); the period of Law; and the period of Grace. Those who lived in the period of the Covenant could, without corruption, act in ways not sanctioned by Mosaic Law, for the Law had not yet been revealed. Thus Jacob could legitimately be bigamous and could legitimately copulate with his wives' maidservants, since such behavior was not corrupt in its time. After Moses had received the Law, then what had previously been acceptable became corrupt. Similarly, there are practices sanctioned by Law but condemned in the period of Grace. Thus in order to understand the morality of the Old Testament one must consider it in relation to the Law, not necessarily in relation to the ethics of Christianity.

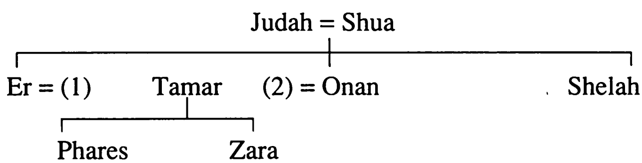
This is the general argument. The particular examples concern the practice of "levirate" marriages, whereby under the Law a younger brother was obliged to marry his older brother's widow. The offspring of such marriages were by law (though not by nature) the heirs of the deceased older brother. The issue of levirate marriages links, on the one hand, the long discourse on Tamar and, on the other hand, the excursus on the genealogies of Christ. Tamar's apparent incestuous promiscuity is in fact a quest for the child which she should have had through the levirate marriage which Judah failed to provide for her.

An appreciation of levirate marriage can also help to resolve the apparent contradictions between the genealogies of Christ found in Matthew and those found in Luke.

The passage on the genealogies (§§35–36) is obscure. This is because Klim('s source) conflates two separate devices which are together used to solve the problem: the assumption of a series of levirate marriages; and the insertion of apocryphal names to plug gaps left by the evangelists. Klim('s source) claims to be elucidating the texts of the evangelists, but in fact the apocryphal material is essential to the argument. Klim's *Epistle* here preserves a condensed and somewhat garbled version of an old hypothesis which goes back to the early centuries of Christian exegesis. It may be helpful to disentangle the parts and to reconstitute the argument in a clearer sequence.

1. THE ANCESTORS OF DAVID

In the *Epistle* the model for levirate marriages is provided by Tamar's quest for offspring (§§28–35). The generations were:



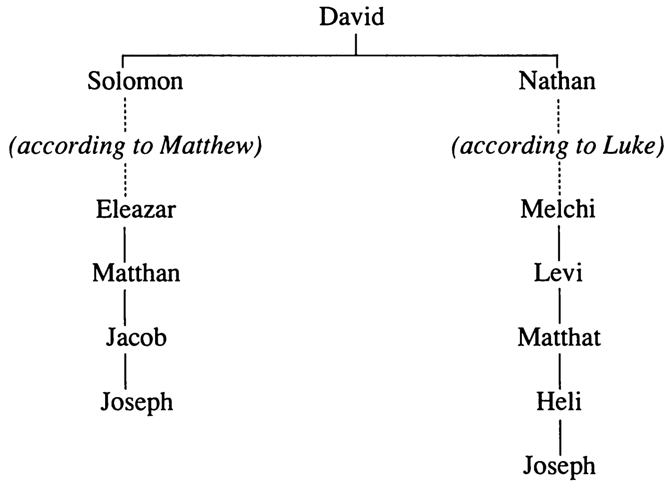
Er died, so Tamar was given to the younger brother Onan. Onan died, and Tamar was told by Judah to wait for the youngest brother, Shelah, to mature. But (in this interpretation) Judah forgot his promise, so Tamar tricked Judah himself into intercourse with her. Judah thus becomes a kind of surrogate for Shelah, who would himself have been a surrogate for Onan, who was a surrogate for Er. The children, Phares and Zara, are not the fruit of Tamar's promiscuity with her father-in-law Judah, but the legitimate offspring (via a series of legitimate surrogates) of her marriage to Er. The line of Phares, first-born of Tamar and Er, leads to David.

2. THE ANCESTORS OF JOSEPH, HUSBAND OF MARY[9]

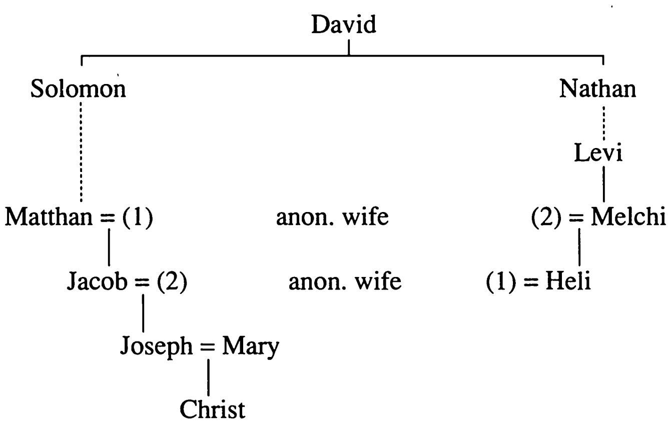
Matthew and Luke agree that Joseph was descended from David, but they provide differing versions of the genealogy. The differences

[9] See the *Epistle*, §§11, 35, 36. §36 is a fairly accurate version of John of Damascus, Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως (*Expositio fidei*), ed. P. Bonifatius Kotter, vol. 2 of *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Patristische Texte und Studien, 12 (Berlin and New York, 1973), iv, 14 (pp. 199–200, lines 22–46), in the early tenth-century Slavonic translation attributed to John the Exarch of Bulgaria: see L. Sadnik, ed., *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus* 'Ekthesis akribēs tēs

may be schematized as follows:



There are two main problems. First, Matthew shows Joseph as descended from David's older son Solomon, while Luke shows him as descended from the younger son Nathan. Secondly, the immediate forebears of Joseph (his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather) are named differently by the two evangelists. A solution is found through a series of levirate marriages as follows:

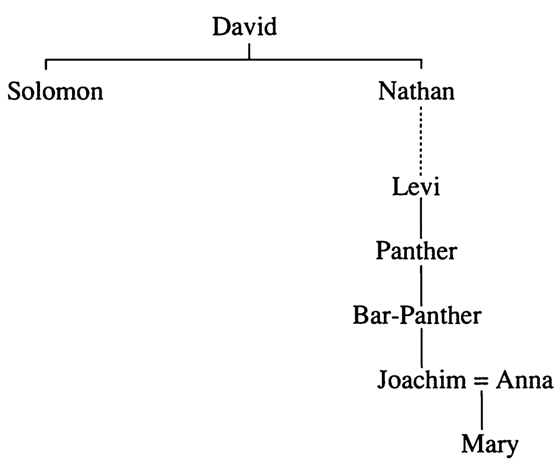


orthodoxou pisteōs *in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, vol. 3. (Freiburg, 1983), 34–36, cols. 281a–283a. This version of the genealogy of Joseph (but not incorporating the genealogy of Mary) is derived from Sextus Julius Africanus, *Epistola ad Aristidem*, preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea: see W. Reichardt, ed., *Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes* (Leipzig, 1909), 1–62. The more distant source of the genealogy of Mary is the *Protoevangelium of James*.

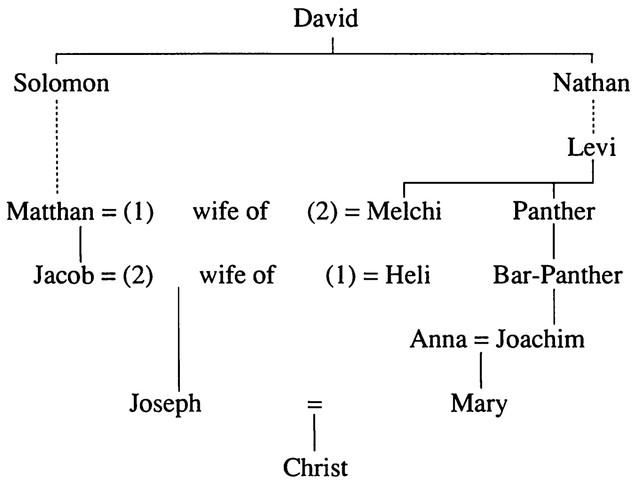
The order of names has been somewhat confused, but the principle is plain. By the marriage of Melchi to the widow of Matthan, and subsequently by the levirate marriage of Jacob to the widow of his half-brother Heli, all the contradictions are resolved: Joseph is descended both from Solomon and from Nathan; Joseph's natural father is Jacob, but by law he is the legitimate son of his mother's first husband, Jacob's half-brother Heli. On "detailed investigation" contradictory facts turn out to be compatible.

3. THE GENEALOGY OF MARY

By positing levirate marriages Klim's source (or rather, the far more distant source of Klim's source) demonstrates both the legitimacy (and hence the purity) of the house of David and the truth of Christ's descent from the house of David through Joseph, as stated in the Gospels. However, the lineage is not yet complete. Neither Matthew nor Luke provides a genealogy of Joseph's wife Mary. Is Christ descended from the house of David through Joseph alone, or through *both* of his earthly parents? Here the solution is to incorporate (as fact) information from apocryphal texts. Mary's ancestry is reconstructed as follows:



Thus Christ is of the house of David not only through Joseph but also through Mary. The composite family tree is:



This is the scheme which lies behind the compressed narrative of §§35–36. The compression tends to obscure both the logic of the scheme itself and its place in the arguments presented in the *Epistle*.

APPENDIX III

THE SYNAXARION LIFE OF KIRILL OF TUROV[10]

[28 April]

The blessed Kirill was born and brought up in the town of Turov. He was the son of rich parents, yet he had no love for the riches and passing glory of this world, but applied himself above all to the study of the divine books, and he learned well the divine Scriptures. After a time he departed into a monastery and became a monk. And he labored for God better than all the others. Burdening his body with fasting and singing[11], he made of himself a receptacle[12] for the Holy Spirit, and he profited many by his teaching, instructing monks in obedience: that they should be obedient to their superior and hearken to him in all things as they would hearken to God. For a monk who does not obey his superior—as he has pledged himself to do—cannot be saved.

After this the blessed [Kirill] yearned for even greater labors, and he entered a cell and closed himself in and remained there for some while in fasting and in prayer. And still more he labored: he interpreted many of the divine writings and became renowned throughout the land.

And at the entreaty of the prince and of the people of that town he was enthroned as bishop and was appointed by the metropolitan to be bishop of that town called Turov, which lies near Kiev. And he labored well for God's Church.

And with the holy Scriptures Kirill exposed and cursed the heresy of Feodorec[13] (as [Feodor] was called in deprecation). And he wrote many letters to the God-loving prince Andrej.[14] And he wrote

[10] Text from N. K. Nikol′skij, *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj duxovnoj pis′mennosti* (St. Petersburg, 1907) (= *SbORJaS* 82, no. 4), 63–64.

[11] Reading пеньем for пенье: presumably the singing of psalms.

[12] Reading приятилище for праятилище.

[13] Bishop Feodor of Rostov (also given the derogatory diminutive in the chronicles). See Introduction, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii.

[14] Andrej Bogoljubskij: reading боголюбивому for Nikol′skij's бо любивому. We recall that Andrej had briefly been prince of Turov in the early 1150s: see Intro-

books on tales from the Gospels and the prophets, works for the Lord's feast days and[15] other edificatory homilies, and prayers, and panegyrics[16] to many saints. All these multitudinous works he wrote and bequeathed to the Church (which preserves them to this day), bringing enlightenment and joy to all the faithful people of Rus′.[17]

Thus he lived in piety and devotion, shepherding well the flock which was entrusted to him. And so he departed into the life eternal and everlasting.

Come, brethren, let us this day praise this holy man, saying: Hail, holy and devout teacher, who shone forth brighter than all as a second Chrysostom for us in Rus′! Hail, you that illuminated all corners of Rus′ with your holy and thrice-bright teachings, as the sun illumines the shaded and the dark! You enlightened us with the divine understanding. We bear you these our meager words in prayer.

Pray for us to the Almighty, before whom you now stand and in whose presence you can speak! Pray that we may be released from the woe that afflicts us, from the godless Hagarenes who constantly torment us![18] And so through prayer may we receive mercy and the remission of our sins, and may we enjoy the eternal blessings in the age to come, in Jesus Christ, our Lord.

duction, p. lxxvi.

15 Reading и ина for ина.

16 Reading хвали for хвала.

17 Reading русьския for сурьския.

18 Probably the Tatars: an allusion which places the composition of the Life no earlier than the mid-thirteenth century.

APPENDIX IV

RJURIKID GENEALOGIES*

1. DESCENDANTS OF IZJASLAV JAROSLAVIČ

Princes of Turov and Pinsk:

- IZJASLAV JAROSLAVIČ (d. 1078)
  - *Jaropolk* (d. 1086)
  - SVJATOPOLK (d. 1113)
    - *M'stislav*
    - Jaroslav (d. 1123)
      - Georgij (of Turov, ca. 1158-67)
        - *Ivan*
        - Svjatopolk of Turov (d. ca. 1190)
        - *Glěb*
        - Jaroslav of Pinsk (fl. 1183)
        - *Jaropolk*
      - *Vjačeslav*
    - *Brjačeslav*
    - *Izjaslav*
  - *M'stislav*

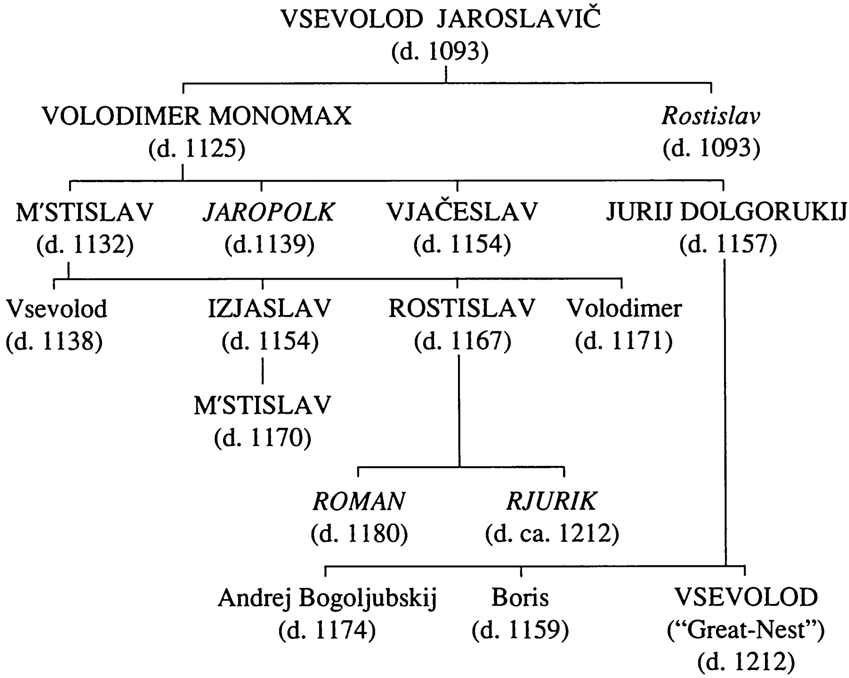
2. DESCENDANTS OF SVJATOSLAV JAROSLAVIČ

Princes of Černihiv, Tmutorokan', Novhorod-Sivers'kyj:

- SVJATOSLAV JAROSLAVIČ (d. 1076)
  - *Glěb*
  - *Roman*
  - *Davyd* (d. 1123)
    - *IZJASLAV* (d.1162)
    - Svjatoslav ("Svjatoša")
  - Oleg (d. 1115)
    - VSEVOLOD (d. 1146)
    - IGOR' (d. 1147)
  - *Jaroslav*

* Princes of Kiev in capital letters; princes not mentioned in text in italics.

3. DESCENDANTS OF VSEVOLOD JAROSLAVIČ:



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